They are always trying to disturb her. (*Interruptions*)

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENTS ADDRESS

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam Deputy Chairman, I beg to move:

"That an Address be presented to the President in the following terms:

"That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 11th July, 1991.'"

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH (Maharashtra): Why don't you read your amendments before you say something further?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I don't have to. You read your amendments.

SHRI VIREN J SHAH: Have you not moved any amendments?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I have not moved any amendments.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The time for moving her amendments is over. Now, it is for you to move your amendments.

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH: Do you want me to do it now?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: When your time comes.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam, the President's Address began on a tragic note on the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Therefore, I also wish to begin by referring to the senseless assassination of my beloved leader, Shri Rajiv Gandhi on the 21st May, in Tamil Nadu.

Madam, you will forgive me if I strike a personal note and say that when myself and my other colleagues entered Parliament, these sacred portals, and politics, we entered under the leadership of our charismatic leader, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, and we rejoiced in being members of his team. We shared in his dream of a modern, secular and dynamic India which would enter the Twenty-First Century, under his leadership. We all thought that Rajiv Gandhi would be here for the next hundred years to lead the country forward and that we would be sharing in his dream. (*Interruptions*) Madam, let them finish saying what they want to say.

AN. HON. MEMBER: What is this?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Never mind, you speak.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I do not want to be interrupted at a very emotional moment. It is a matter of great emotion for us. He was our leader.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: (Bihar): These people are emotionless.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: He laid down his life in the cause of democracy. I am just going to say that this is a tragic example of the way these people treated Rajiv Gandhi when he was alive. These same people who are sitting on the opposite side... (*Interruptions*). Oh,* These same people who are sitting on the opposite side... (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY (Andhra Pradesh): Don't use these words like* which are unparliamentary. You are totally incompetent to raise a discussion on the President's Address. (*Interruptions*). What happened in Andhra Pradesh? It was the people of your cadre, the goondas, the very people who claim Rajiv Gandhi to be their charismatic leader, they ruined the people's life. Shame. It was in a State which was ruled by your Government. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, please. I can handle the House if you keep quiet.

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: You cannot use words like* or anything like that.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will look into the record.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Was that the leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi? It is really a tragic tribute they are paying to a man like Shri Rajiv Gandhi. All round there was bloodshed and this was the tribute they paid to him on that day. This is really pathetic. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat. I am going to see the record. No unparliamentary words will go on record. Now, please take your seat.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: What happened in Andhra Pradesh?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATRAJAN: I apologise. I do not want to play into the hon. Member's hands. Their party is well known for dramas. Therefore. I apologise. (Interruptions).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, please. Now let her speak.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Therefore, I apologise for whatever I said. I want to stick to the solemnity of the occasion. We do not need certificates from these people about how we felt about our leader. I do not want to sidetrack the issue by marring the solemnity of the occasion, giving one or the other reason to the hon. Member to unnecessarily shout and hijack the whole debate. Therefore, I take it back and if there is anything else to be done,I am prepared to do that.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, you make your speech.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN. It is easy for you, Madam, and the Chair to say to make my speech, but at a time when we are referring to a solemn and emotional occasion and if you are constantly interrupted by the Members of the opposition benches, it is very difficult to get on with the speech and snide remarks.

Madam, I think in his death, the enormity of the sacrifice that Shri Rajiv Gandhi made, he has finally silenced his last critic, every single critic. The tremendous sacrifice that he made, nobody can deny today was in the cause of democracy, was in the cause of the unity and integrity of this country. He died at the hands of the terrorists, probably LTTE because the investigations have so far established this, but the fact remained that he laid down his life as his mother did. He laid down his life as the President of the Congress Party for the cause of democracy in this country.

Madam, times without number, many of my colleagues on the Opposition benches stood in the well of this very House and hurled abuse and invective and shouted slogans against Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Today fortunately, they have the grace to keep quiet. I remember, Madam, a time when Mr. V. P. Singh, as Prime Minister, kept talking about the crores of rupees that were spent on Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's security. He spoke in a very snide way, he spoke as if it was something which should not have been spent, as if Shri Rajiv Gandhi was asking for something that he did not deserve. Today I want to ask Mr. V. P. Singh, what is the use of all these crores of rupees, what is the use of carping about a thing like that? Perhaps I should tell him that, in the ultimate analysis, it was possible that every single one of us here in the Congress Party would have been willing to shed the last drop of our blood to save his life because his life made all the difference to our party and to the country in a very big way. But since he is no longer here—the man has passed on—only his dream lives. And today, every single member of the Congress Party will ensure, take a pledge with me, that we will strain every nerve to the last to take up the

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

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awesome responsibility that has landed on our shoulders and strain every nerve to see that we are able to realize the legacy and the dream of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. That is the only thing we can do right now.

Madam, for 40 years out of 44 years, Congress Governments have been at the Centre. Every time a non-Congress Government had taken over the Central Government, it led this country to the brink of disaster and tragedy, and it required an immediate Congress Government to come back and pull the country back from the abyss of chaos that the country was about to fall into.

Madam, I have been reading press reports about the recent debates in the other House and other statements of the political parties. I have read press reports about what Mr. George Fernandes, Mr Ram Vilas Paswan and other leaders have said about the mandate of the Congress, and I want to straightway place a few facts on record. Madam in the last General Elections, the Congress Party has secured about 227 seats and we have got a total percentage of votes of 37.57. And before any of my colleagues in the Opposition benches rises to talk about our faces and make any other insulting remarks, I would also like to place on record that before the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi the votes polled by the Congress Party were 32.90 per cent, and after the assassination they were 40.65 per cent. In any case, Madam, 32.90 per cent before the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi is much more than the woeful percentage polled by any other party. Let me read out the figures to show to this House what I mean.

Madam, the Congress, as I have already said, polled 37.57 per cent. The BJP, with 119 seats, polled 20.95 per cent of the total votes. The SJP got five seats and polled 3.49 per cent of the total votes. The Janata Dal got 57 seats and a wonderful percentage of 11.60 : they dropped nine points from the 1989 elections. So, the people have given them a fitting reply of what they thought about how they ran the Government—the National Front and the Left Front. Madam, the CPI got 13 seats and 2.54 per cent of the votes, the CPI (M) got 35 seats and 6.68 per cent of the votes. This is the reply of the people of India, pre-assassination and post-assassination.

Our leader laid down his life in a tragic cause: we did not want him to die. It is the greatest tragedy that we live under the shadow of that tragedy. We are trying to come out of that. It is certainly not a matter of rejoicing that we have got 20 more seats. We would have gladly given up Government for the next 50 years if we could have saved his life. Therefore, whether he died or did not die is not the issue here. The issue here is that the people of India have given a clear mandate. It may be a hung Parliament, but the people of India have given a clear mandate to the Congress Party to form the Government. As the Prime Minister said, it is up to 1999...

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Sixty-two per cent have voted against you... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Nobody voted for the Telugu Desam.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: It doesn't matter... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam, if honourable Members are going to keep on interrupting, I will sit down. I don't want to be interrupted... (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: When your time comes to speak, you can say what like. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: What modesty? What do you do in Andhra? Tremendous modesty! (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please don't interrupt.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam, the people of the country have given a clear mandate. The question of a hung Parliament does not arise. The question, Madam, is, as the Prime Minister observed recently, he feels like a batsman who scored 99, not quite a hundred. The fact that we are ten or twelve seats short of majority in the Lok Sabha is again not the issue here. I was very happy to read that the Prime Minister during the confidence motion said that the fact of being just short of majority would not make a difference to the way this Government would act and that if we had got a majority, if we had got 300 seats, even then, it would not have made any difference to the way the Government was going to behave.

Madam, today we have ushered in a new era of consensus. Today the Prime Minister says that we have to start a new political experiment of consensus, that we have to take everybody with us, that we have to take people with us. We know we are a minority Government. But we do not go to you holding a begger's bowl. We do not go to you asking for any favours. We do not want you to keep any Congress Government in power. If you want to vote us out, if you want to go back to the people, please do so. Nobody is stopping you. We are not begging you. The question here is: Does the country want another election? If the country does not want another election if any other party is not willing to form a Government, if the Congress (I)....

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह (बिहार): आप कांग्रेस सरकार की ओर से बोल रही हैं? ...(**व्यवधान**)...

उपसभापति: राम अवधेश जी, आप उनको बोलने दीजिये। ...(**व्यवधान**)... राम अवधेश जी आपको मालूम है कि वे कांग्रेस की मेंब हैं और जो वह बोल रही हैं कांग्रेस की तरफ से बोल रही हैं।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: क्या कांग्रेस फ्रेस मैंडेट के लिये तैयार हैं। उनके भाषण से यह निकलता है कि वे जनता तक जाने

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I do not know what he says.

उपसभापति: उनके भाषण से जो कुछ भी निकलता हो, आप चुप रहिये। आप बोलिये।

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: They do not want to listen to sense. (*Interruptions*) Upendraji, have patience to listen to me. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM (Andhra Pradesh): Why are you so touchy about it?

SHRI P UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): You are so touchy.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: Don't get carried away by your emotions. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam, as I was saying, we are holding the reins of the Government not with any sense of triumph but with a sense of duty and in a spirit of humility. Because of this spirit of humility the Prime Minister has repeatedly said that he believes in running the Government by consensus and that every step he will take after achieving a measure of consensus with all the opposition parties, whoever is in Parliament, with all the leaders who have somthing to say on the issue. We are aware that this is a minority Government. But, as I said, we do not want to go to you as supplicants. We are also conscious of the fact that we have taken up what is no less than a sacred trust.

Madam, perhaps only 37.75 per cent of the people have voted for us. But the fact remains that we are the single largest party in Parliament today. And we are the only party that had the courage to come forward and could form the Government. Nobody else could even offer to form a government. There is no question of any other party forming a government. Therefore, we stand here before you in a sense of carrying out our duty, in a sense of holding a sacred trust

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that has been reposed in us by the people of India. We are fully aware of the kind of responsibilities that we have to carry out, but, at the same time, every day people are pointing out that we should remember that we are a minority Government. While we are aware we should take every section of the people, while we are aware that we need the cooperation and commitment of every Member of the Opposition parties or every leader of Opposition parties, the fact remains that the cooperation that they will or may extend to us on our request is not something that they are doing to keep the Congress in power. The Congress is only an instrumentality. We only see ourselves as instrumentality. We do not see it as our goal to remain in power. The goal is that we have to carry out the trust of the people. The object, the idea, the background is that this country cannot afford another election. There will be a total disaster if there is another election. The Congress is in power and we have to take the people with us. Therefore, the cooperation and the commitment that you are going to give is not to keep the Congress party in power, but it is a cooperation and commitment that the people of India expect from you as Parliamentarians to carry the country forward. I, for one, will not expect that the people of India did not know what they were doing when they returned a hung Lok Sabha after this election. They knew what they were doing. And in their wisdom they have given us a message. I think the time has now come to an end when any party can enjoy complete power for five years or a complete majority in Parliament. I think we are now going through a period when every part of national life—the foreign policy, the home policy, the unity of India, the integrity of India, the economic policy, the industrial policy—has now come up for a debate. It is now open to be re-examined in the light of 44 years of experience. The times are changing. An enormous socialist country like Russia has broken down. We have to re-examine various values as we are passing through turbulent times. Therefore, people, in their wisdom have sent back a hung Parliament. It is up to us to hold together; it is up to us to consult each other and it is up to us not to betray the trust of the people. We have to continue in a spirit of consensus. It is in this spirit that we seek cooperation and commitment from all the Opposition parties, rather than just to keep the Congress Government in power. It is not our objective at all.

After the debate on the Confidence Motion I have read in the paper that some people have been saying that this Government is behaving in a disastrous way, that this Government has not behaved properly during the Speaker's election. We keep hearing stories from the Press and other sources that the Congress Government is still behaving as if it has 415 Members in the Lok Sabha, that they are not behaving with responsibility. In all humility I want to ask are the Members of the Opposition behaving with a sense of responsibility? It is a well known tradition that the Speaker has to be a nominee of the ruling party which is running the Government. It is not a question of the Speaker. All of us believe that the Speaker has to be non-partisan, that he will be above the law. The question over here is that there has to be a coordination between the Speaker and the Government. Otherwise it will be difficult. Therefore, the Speaker has to be somebody who not only enjoys the confidence of all sections of the House, but he also has to be somebody who enjoys the confidence of the Government, because it is the Government's business which is to be transacted in both the Houses of Parliament. In view of this I don't think it was unreasonable on the part of the Congress to want to have a Speaker elected who was their nominee. I was reading every single day every report in the Press. Every day

an approach was made. The hon. Leader of the House, the Home Minister, the senior Members of the Government had approached the National Front and the Left Front for support on the question of the Speaker. When many of my colleagues and I approached the senior leaders of the party to find out what was happening because there were all the speculations in the Press, we were told that...

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA (Bihar): Kindly yield for a minute?

माननीय सदस्य ने यह प्रश्न उठाया है, जो भी स्पीकर चुना जाए। he ceases to be a member of that party. Whosoever is there on that Chair, he then does not behave like a party man. So, this very point that you are making...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I did not make.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: You were saying that whoever is elected as Speaker, on election no longer belongs to the party of which he was a Member earlier. So, he is bound to cooperate with the Government if he is elected. Supposing an Opposition Member is elected as Speaker, he is bound to be neutral. He must go by the Chair's ruling and not by the party's ruling. Therefore, what you are saying is incorrect...(*Interruptions*)...Whosoever is elected, whether it is from my party or any other party, he will not behave as a party man. This is the real position.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I agree with you. I am not personally casting any aspersion on anybody who has occupied the Chair in any House. My point is different. I am only saying the moment the person is elected as Speaker one assumes that automatically he will conduct himself in a manner befitting the dignity of the office. I have no quarrel with that at all. I agree with hon. Chaturanan Mishraji whole-heartedly. But the question is that it is the right of the party which is in Government to set up its own candidate and to request the Opposition for cooperation in getting its candidate elected. It is a reasonable attitude on the part of the Government I am not saying anything else. That is all I am saying. Therefore, the question I am trying to say is that for ten long days we waited for the National Front and the Left Front but they foreclosed the entire option by putting up somebody, their own candidate. No doubt he was a very good candidate. There was no quarrel about that. It is not a question of personality. There has never been a question of personality. The question is the principle that the ruling party has a right to elect its own candidate. Without wasting much more time I just want to say that in this particular instance, particularly regarding the Speaker's election, the Opposition parties did not behave in a manner which showed that they were truly conscious of the seriousness of the situation which the nation is in today. They just wanted to play, indulge in a game of one-up-manship. They wanted to show that the Congress party has gone close to the BJP. It is a strange attitude on the part of the National Front because for eleven long months, Mr. V. P. Singh ran his Government at the mercy of the BJP and the moment they withdrew the support, his Government fell. So just because at one point, at the time of Speaker's election, if the BJP had conceded to the point of Speaker's election from the ruling party, there is nothing wrong. The ruling party has a right to elect its own candidate for the Speaker's post. To say that:

अलग अलग दिलों का मिलन हो गया।

I think it is bordering on absurdity and the ridiculous, that too coming from a party which as I said ran its Government at the mercy of the BJP.

Madam, I want to straightway deal with just two or three important issues in the President's Address. First, I would like to straightway talk about the burning issue of reservation. In

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the President's Address, this Government has categorically stated as well as in the Congress manifesto that we are completely and irrevocably committed to the concept of reservation in the interest of social justice in this country. Reservation is not simply a matter of caste. Caste is no doubt a part of it. Caste is a pernicious part of it. It is a goal of every right-thinking citizen of this country to see that we achieve a classless society as soon as possible. But until that goal is reached, we have to ponder over for a minute on the tremendous inequality and discrimination that has been perpetuated by the caste system over 5000 years of our civilisation. Therefore, reservation is not a matter of charity. It is not something that our founding-fathers and various political parties hand out as charity to the deprived sections of the society, of the community. Reservation is a matter of righting wrongs of the history. Reservation is a matter of historical compensation for hundreds and hundreds of years of deprivement that the backward classes, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes have faced at the hands of various people.

If you look back in history starting from the history of *varnas*, you will find after the primeval sacrifice, according to the old stories and mythology, it was from the mouth of the primeval man that a Brahmin was born and I read: "From his two arms, the Kshatriyas were made. or the Rajanayas were made. From his thighs the vaishyas were made and from his two feet the Shudra was born." Starting from then if you look over the history of 3000 years, you will find that the real triumph of the caste system did not lie in merely establishing the supremacy of the upper caste. The real triumph of the caste system lay in this that you conditioned the so-called lower caste. You conditioned their consciousness. You conditioned, you influenced every sphere of their life as I will be showing shortly. You conditioned their consciousness into accepting their inferiority in every sphere of life. Madam, this kind of discrimination and inequality which have been perpetuated could not have existed over three thousand years in a purely social sense. It was a complex, comprehensive and total penetration into various fields of life, into various aspects of life. It was reinforced with tales from the scriptures. It was reinforced with mythology in order to give it some kind of a spurious moral sanction. Clearly it has been systematically reinforced over thousands of years so that the people never even thought of challenging it. Madam, please forgive me if I dwell *on this for a moment.*

You look at various aspects. Dharmashastras maintain that if you do good deeds, you would be born into a high caste; otherwise, you would be born either into a lesser caste or as a pig or a donkey. Castes were in five groups, divided into various castes from which the twice-born could either take food, could take food and water or not even take food and water. As I was going through various texts in this matter, I found that it was absolutely horrifying. Sometimes I think we should re-read our scriptures; we should re-read various parts of Indian history to see the kind of discrimination that has been perpetuated over the years. All over the country, deep down in the South, there is a community called 'Shanan'. They have to walk a length of 24 paces from the upper castes. Otherwise they will pollute the upper castes. In Maharashtra, the 'Mahars' could not spit on the roads because they would be polluting the people of the upper castes. Even in the matter of tax, all the upper castes were exempt from tax. In the matter of interest, in the matter of interest payment on debt, the 'Brahmin' had to pay only zero to half a per cent; the 'Kshatriya' had to pay three per cent; the 'Vysya' had to pay four per cent and the 'Shudra' had to pay five per cent as interest on debt taken. Madam, 'Manu' goes as far as to say that the slaying of a

'Shudra' by a 'Brahmin' is equivalent merely to the killing of a cat, a mongoose, a frog, a lizard an owl or a crow. In some cases women, women of the lower castes, were not even allowed to cover their breasts. This was the extent to which discrimination was practised. The object of pointing out all these—I do not wish to dwell on this in great detail—is that the scheme of social organisation over the last three thousand years has had a far-reaching impact on the growth, on various aspects of life of the depressed classes. And this impact is there till today. This is what I mean when I say that we have to right the wrong of history. And the exclusive custodians of learning were the upper castes. And that is why you find that between 1892 and 1904, out of 16 successful candidates for the IPS, 15 were 'Brahmins'. In 1914, 23 of the 26 permanent District Munsifs were 'Brahmins'. In 1944, 452 out of 650 graduates were 'Brahmins'. From 1969 to 1978, only 10 candidates from the Scheduled Castes and Tribes were in the IAS on merit. And in two years, 1976 and 1977, not even one got in on merit. Madam, till today, the kind of promotions or representation in the services for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, despite all the reservations over the years, is only about 8.66 per cent; and for the backward classes, about 4.6 per cent. This is a tragic commentary on the way the system has worked in the country.

Madam, equality is a fine principle. I am also aware that equality before law should be practised. It is a cardinal principle in the Constitution, Article 14, that all the citizens of the country are equal in the eyes of law and that equality should be practised. You should not practise discrimination on grounds of caste. But the question is, what is equality? When you treat unequals equally, that does not mean equality. That is gross inequality that you perpetuate. You are perpetuating inequality when you treat unequals equally. That is not recognised in the Constitution. Again, when the question of reservation is taken up, people always raise the bogey of merit saying that merit will suffer if reservation is allowed to be perpetuated. Madam, according to me, the question of merit is not simply a matter of intelligence. It is an amalgam of native intelligence and environmental privileges. Environmental privileges are equally a part of merit, as much as intelligence. Take a small example of two boys or girls of equal intelligence, one of whom grows up in a city with educated, forward looking parents, who is exposed to all the advantages of living in a city, to a television and has access to a good school; at the sametime, another boy of the same kind of intelligence who comes from a depressed class, from a backward class, from a Scheduled Caste or Tribe, from the village is simply not exposed to the same thing and certainly cannot perform well in the competitive examination or in an interview for a Government job as his colleague in the city. Therefore, the merit of the two is the same. You have to give weightage for the kind of deprivation that has been faced by people, by boys and girls and students from the deprived classes and only then can this country really set right the wrongs and injustices that have been carried out over the years.

Having said this, I just want to say that while we believe in reservation, I wish to point out that it is a question of how reservation is implemented. If you are serious, if you are genuine, if you are really committed to social justice and equality, and if you are committed to see that reservations are properly implemented, then nothing will stop you from doing this. Madam, I say that Tamil Nadu is a pioneer on this issue. My State, Madam, has started the first reservation over a hundred years ago. As early as 1892, the Government of Tamil Nadu had started Grant-in-Aid Code by which special provision was made for material

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assistance to the deprived and backward sections of students. This was later amended as early as 1921, by the famous communal GO by which a resolution was passed by the Legislative Council of Tamil Nadu and representation of upper caste in Government services was reviewed and restricted. Again, it was reviewed in 1927 and I am proud to say that it was the result of the legislation in Tamil Nadu that Article 15(4) in the Constitution was introduced because the Supreme Court struck down the principle of reservation. It was there in the communal GO in 1937 and 1947 and after that, a new article came to be inserted in the Constitution of India directly because of the result of the progressive measures for social justice which were implemented by various Congress Governments in Tamil Nadu and later by other Governments in Tamil Nadu right up till today when we have over 50 per cent reservation for the backward classes, 18 per cent for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. We have 68 per cent reservation in Tamil Nadu and I am proud to say this. Not one member of the upper castes has raised any protest, not even one member. We have enjoyed the reservation. The people have enjoyed the reservation. The merit of the bureacracy or of the Government has not suffered one bit. This is a fallacy and this is a myth which is sought to be perpetuated. The Government of Tamil Nadu has not suffered because of reservation. We have accepted it. It has come over a period of 100 years . I do not want to waste the time of this House. I have got the entire history, what has happened in the whole of India. Within India, the whole concept of reservation started as early as 1935. I do not want to go into that. The point I wish to dwell on is, if you are committed to the issue of social justice, then you should do it in a proper way as various Governments in Tamil Nadu, in Andhra Pradesh and in Maharashtra have done it. You should prepare the people for it. You should do it because you are committed to social justice. You should not do it for vote bank politics. We should not manipulate the mass hysteria. This is what Mr. V. P. Singh did. Madam, he is the first enemy of reservation. I think, he is trying to fool the people of this country. Mr. V. P. Singh and his Government were the first enemy of reservations. I will say this. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): What is this you are talking about?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: It is unparliamentary?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: No, it is not unparliamentary but it is objectionable. It is in bad taste. It is not fair.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Sir, I cannot say what you want me to say. I will say what I want to say. I am not using any unparliamentary language. I will explain my point. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: Madam, can any Members of this House say about the Member of another House that he is the enemy of the country? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): He sacrificed his office for the sake of reservations. (*Interruptions*).

1.00 P.M.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN (Tamil Nadu): Where is DMK in Tamil Nadu?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are not discussing DMK and Tamil Nadu just now.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : उपसभापति महोदया, मेरा पाइंट आफ़ आर्डर है। मेरा इतना ही कहना है कि जो दूसरे हाऊस के माननीय सदस्य है वी०पी० सिंह . .

(*Interruption*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am still in the Chair and the point of order is addressed to the Chair and not to the Members. So please keep quiet. I am capable of answering the point of order. If you think that I am not capable, then you come and sit here.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: You get rid of these wiser people in this House. (*Interruption*) I am on a point of order and she was allowed me. But still you are standing...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let them stand. You say what you want to say.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : मैं सिर्फ़ यही कहना चाहता था कि यह आपके लिए भी लागू है।...(**व्यवधान**)...

एक माननीय सदस्य : आप भी रेणुका की तरह करते हो।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : महोदया, मेरा पाइंट आफ आर्डर यही है कि जो उस हाउस के माननीय सदस्य हैं, उनके बारे में यह कहना कि जनता के दुश्मन हैं, क्या यह शब्द हम लोग इस्तेमाल करेंगे? आगे से फिर यह शब्द आएगा।

उपसभापति : उन्होंने जो कहा है, वी० पी० सिंह जी का नाम लिया है, जब वह प्रधान मंत्री थे, तब का कहा है।

श्री चतरानन मिश्र : नहीं-नहीं। हम लोग भी फिर प्रधान मंत्री के बारे में आगे से यही कहेंगे। अगर हम उनके बारे में कहें तो चिल्लाने मत लगइएगा। तय कर लीजिए, आपका भी प्रधानमंत्री हुआ, हमारा भी हुआ। अगर आप कहते हैं, तो आप भी तैयार हो जाइए, हम भी अभी कहना शुरु करेंगे कि दुश्मन हैं। इसलिए मैंने आपका ध्यान आकर्षित किया। आप अगर यह तय करें कि दुश्मन ही दुश्मन जनता के प्रधान मंत्री हुआ करते हैं तो फिर हम लोग इसी के मुताबिक काम करेंगे।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : जनता का नहीं कहा है, सबके बारे में कहा है। (**व्यवधान**)...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: If Chaturananji has taken offence, let me restate my point. I want to continue with my speech. Let me restate what I have said. I don't want to give offence to him. Let me restate what I have said. I have said that as Prime Minister Mr. V. P. Singh never wanted the policy of reservation to succeed. He never wanted the policy to succeed. If he was really committed to that policy, he would have done it in a different way. Look at what happened. (interruption) No doubt, as they have been accusing us, the Mandal Commission Report has been lying for years gathering dust. Why? Because, it has been a matter that has to be gone into carefully. This party is second to none and I am going to explain why I am saying this. My party is second to none... (*interruptions*) Please listen to what I am going to explain, how it was there in the dust for ten years. I agree with you, but why? There was a hypothesis. In 1980 there was a study undertaken by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences and one Mr. R. K. Zutshi went into the question why there was a violent reaction to the implementation of the policy of reservation in UP and Bihar, particularly after the GOs of 1977 in UP and 1978 in Bihar whereas in Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and other southern States the reservations were accepted peacefully by the upper caste and were being enjoyed immediately by the people. I am not going into the details of it now. Several interesting theories were put forward based on statistical data. The whole success of any scheme of reservation depends upon various factors. Obviously the upper caste have to accept it. You cannot provoke a confrontation. The moment you provoke a confrontation, then the whole question of reservation immediately is kept in abeyance and the issue shifts to the confrontation rather than the reservation itself. The first hypothesis that was put forward by this study was if

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reservation has a long history, then retaliation is completely absent. That is, in other words, if you prepare the ground for it, if you prepare the minds of the upper caste, particularly in places where the upper caste have a vested interest in continuing, where the upper caste have money power, have muscle power, have a vested interest in the system continuing, if you prepare the ground properly, if there is a long history of reservation then you are likely to succeed. There was no such history in the Northern States. The first time in 1977 and in 1978 when you tried to introduce it in UP, there was a violent reaction. Therefore, you have to prepare the ground carefully. Secondly, the second hypothesis that was found was, if the forward castes were divided, the chances of retaliation were less. In this instance, all the forward castes whose interests were going to suffer joined together to oppose the whole concept of reservation. The third hypothesis was, if the backward classes and the Scheduled Castes were united? Then the retaliation by the upper castes naturally would fail. If the Scheduled Castes are able to pull together, then they will be able to hold their own ground. They will be able to show that they too are organised politically and they will fight for the whole concept of reservation. For this also it needs preparation. In this instance, Mr. V. P. Singh caught the Scheduled Castes unawares and I am going to come to him, Madam. The other theory that was set out was that they should have the Backward Classes and the Scheduled Castes politically organised so that they are able to withstand the various demonstrations, the various kinds of pressures that will be brought upon them. Again if the upper castes are suddenly faced with the prospect of losing their political and economic power, naturally, you have to look at this as well, because the upper castes are not outcastes. You cannot just decide one fine day that they have no legal right of place under the sun. They have enjoyed this right for over 3000 years, they are the citizens of India and they are entitled to their rights. This equilibrium, if it is shaken without proper preparation, you are bound to have a conflict, an armed conflict, and total chaos. Therefore the whole question,— and that is the final hypothesis,—is that it is a question of timing. You have to introduce the policy of reservation at the right time, firstly, when the ground is prepared, when people are aware of the justice of reservation; secondly, when the upper castes are in a better frame of mind. They are never willing to give up their power. It has to be introduced when they are in a better frame of mind to accept it and thirdly, when the castes that stand to benefit, the backward classes, the Scheduled Castes and Tribes are also in a position where they are better equipped to handle the threat to their rights so that they are able to articulate it in a better way, and not act the way Mr. Ram Vilas Paswas and Mr. Sharad Yadav did. They said that the Parliament of India does not represent the country and that 80 per cent of the people of India will take to the streets, that all upper castes will be liquidated. This is not the answer. This is what you are doing—inciting caste war. The answer is to prepare the ground. The answer is to introduce it at the right time.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Just a minute, madam. When you made a reference to former Prime Minister Mr. V. P. Singh what is your reaction to the threat given by Shri Vasant Sathe, another former Minister, and a Member of the Parliament against the Mahdal Commission that he would fast unto death on the floor of

the other House? What is your reaction?... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I am going to answer that.... (*Interruptions*)... Let me answer it. It is very simple. Shri Ram Vilas Paswan and Shri Sharad Yadav, who were Cabinet Ministers, we should assume that they would behave in a responsible way. They have a right to their views. But inciting the people of India to take to the roads and to give a fitting reply was to really incite a revolution in the country. What Mr. Vasant Sathe and Mr. Gadgil did in the Parliament... (*Interruptions*)... Mr. Vasant Sathe said he would fast in the Parliament. They are entitled to their views. Those are not my views and those are not the official views of the party. You can read our manifesto. I want to know what Mr. Ajit Singh is saying about reservation these days... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI AJIT P. K. JOGI: We have disassociated ourselves from what Mr. Sathe said. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had gone on record saying that they were not the official views of the party.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: What did Mr. Biju Patnaik say? What did Mr. Biju Patnaik, the Chief Minister of Orissa say? What did Mr. Ajit Singh say? What happened to the National Front? What happened in the National Front when everybody said that because of the Mandal issue the Janata Dal failed so miserably in the elections? They are having a split in the party. So, every party is entitled to its own view and every person is entitled to his own view. But the question is what the official line of the party is.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Madam, just one minute... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam, I am not answering Mr. Gopalsamy... (*Interruptions*)...

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : किंतु राजीव गांधी जी ने तीन घंटे लोक सभा में विरोध किया। ...(**व्यवधान**)... यह उनका भाषण पढ़ लीजिए।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order, please... (*Interruptions*)... If the Members have their own views, they will have an opportunity to speak. Now, let Mrs. Natarajan continue. Let her finish the speech.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam, therefore, what I was saying was that it was a matter of timing only. I said that timing was the most important factor over here, and Mr. V. P. Singh showed that he was not... (*Interruptions*)...

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : वी० पी० सिंह की सरकार कहिए। ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्रीमती जयन्ती नटराजन : क्योंकि मैं देवी लाल की बात नहीं कर रही हूं, वी० पी० सिंह की बात कर रही हूं।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : वी० पी० सिंह कहिएगा; आब्जेक्शन होगा, वी० पी० सिंह की सरकार कहिए।

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I won't say what you want me to say and I will say only what I want to say.

Madam, with Mr. V. P. Singh, the then Prime Minister, it was a matter of timing.

Madam, I charge that his motivation was different when he announced this on the 7th of August, 1990. The man who swore by consensus, the man who said that politics was the art of managing contradictions, the man who said that he would talk to every member of the Opposition, the man who said that he would carry everybody along with him and the man who swore by consensus always did not even consult his own Cabinet! It was rushed through in Parliament. He did not consult his

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own Cabinet and it was never denied by the then Prime Minister that it was never on the agenda of the Cabinet.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN (Tamil Nadu): I am sorry, Madam, It was there on the agenda.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I stand corrected. But, Madam, he never consulted anybody. He just brought it out of his hat and it was only to upstage Mr. Devi Lal and his rally which was scheduled for the 9th of August, 1990 and he was indulging purely in the game of one-up-manship. Then, what were the other reasons? The other reason was that he wanted to save the Mulayam Singh's Government in Uttar Pradesh and he wanted to have an answer to the hysteria on Ayodhya whipped up by the Bharatiya Janata Party, and he was motivated by these two factors only. Therefore, he decided to pull this out of his hat and thereby unleashed a war, a caste war in the country, and thereafter sat back and kept pleading with the students not to die after having provoked them. What prevented him from consulting the students? What prevented him from taking the people into confidence and what prevented him from starting a national debate on this issue? That is why I say that he never wanted the reservation to succeed. That was why he brought this and played this game of political one-up manship and it was only political mathematics. But the Indian people have not been fooled by this...(*Time bell rings*)... Madam, I have a few more points to make and then I will finish.

That is why, Madam, the Janata Dal failed so miserably in the elections, that is why they have been rejected in two States and that is why their votes dropped so miserably by nine per cent to a mere 11 per cent. The people of India have not been fooled by the political game of one-up manship. I want to reiterate that on this issue the Congress (I) is second to none in its dedication to social justice. But we will do it properly, we will do it in a *bona fide* way and we will do it in a way that the people of India are really benefited.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Can you tell us how? ...(*Interruptions*).. It is very important...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI T. R. BALU: Madam, what is this? We want to know what the modality is...(*Interruptions*)...

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : मैं आपके पक्ष में बोल रहा हूं ।

श्रीमती जयन्ती नटराजन : एटलिस्ट मुझे बोलने दीजिए ।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : आपका भाषण मुझे बहुत अच्छा लग रहा है ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am not permitting anybody. Please conclude, Mrs. Natarajan.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : इसलिए मैं आपको बधाई देता हूं । केवल बोलते समय...

उपसभापति : नहीं, नहीं । आप नहीं बोलेंगे । आप इन्टरप्ट मत कीजिए ।

Whether you appreciate or not is not my concern. Don't interrupt anybody.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : इनकी प्रशंसा करते हुए मैं चाहता हूं कि वह अपने भाषण में जरा यह बात साफ़ करदें कि ... **(व्यवधान)**

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Natarajan, you don't have to reply

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : अनुच्छेद-28 में राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में जो है उसको जरा साफ कर दीजिए कि उसका क्या मतलब है ?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Address the Chair and finish your speech.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : अगर जो राष्ट्रपति के भाषण के अनुच्छेद-28 में लिखा गया है ...(**व्यवधान**) तब तो वह किसी काम का भाषण नहीं है ।

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam, the next important issue to which I would like to draw the attention of the House in the President's Address is a vital issue for the country, and that is the issue of Ram Janma Bhoomi issue and Babri Masjid controversy. Madam, the most important line in the President's Address, and in today's context, is the sentence where it affirms Government's commitment to maintain the *status quo* in all religious places as on 15th August 1947. And I know this doesn't apply to Ayodhya and Somnath. It only applies to others. Madam, in my personal capacity I want to state that I wish that the legislation would apply to those No. 1 No. 2, apart from making that observation I would like to say that it is important that the matter be settled expeditiously before the country breaks into a complete communal division and further communal conflagration all over the country. There has to be a proper negotiated settlement of the issue.

Having said that, I would like to state my point of view on the whole question of Ayodhya. In Ayodhya controversy, in my opinion, there is no real issue that is debatable in any serious way, except the compulsions of votes and attempting to whip up a mass hysteria in the name of religion. Are we seriously standing here in this century talking about a structure that was built in 1528, that has been used as a place of worship for 300 or 400 years right up to 1949? It is a national monument. With all respect to the sentiments of all the religions I would like to say that the question is not, the issue is not, that it is a Masjid. Today it is a national monument, and it has to be preserved as such Are we really entering into a serious debate of whether a 400 or 500 year old monument, a national monument, which is the product of a civilization which is proud of stretching back to ever 5000 years—are we trying to tear a page of our own civilization and put it into the dustbin? Are we seriously telling the people of India that this is a question where a mosque can be re-located and we have to put up a temple over here? Madam, let me say before saying anything else that the structure is 450 years old. It cannot be re-located. It is already falling to pieces. It has to be preserved. The moment you touch it, it could disintegrate. We have to preserve it as a national monument. There is no question of its being re-located.

Madam, the BJP calls it a question of national faith where Sri Rama was born. I do not agree, with great respect. That Sri Rama was an Avtar of Vishnu is a matter of faith, no doubt. I believe in it. Where Sri Rama was born is not a matter of faith; it is a matter of fact, it is a matter of evidenec. And for this, if you just look back, this again is not what the Government has to do; it is my opinion, what I feel about the matter. In any event, the question whether this Babri Masjid was the exact birth place of Sri Rama, in my personal opinion, is irrelevant. It is not the issue here. And I say this for a very important reason. Madam, based upon whatever belief or faith you might have, or even evidence that you might have, if it is proper evidence, I want to ask a question: How far back in history can you go with this controversy? For instance, the Qutab Minar stands at a place where a shrine was put up. Can you demolish the Qutab Minar beacuse of this? There are many other places of worship of various faiths that are a question of controversy today. There are also stories may be true, may be not true that the Hindus destroyed.. (*Interruptions*) Are we going to rake up every story? Because you are going to rake up one story, you will have to rake up every other story

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as well. My simple question is, how far back in history can you go to reopen the issue in order to restore it, which is supposed to be the birth place of Sri Rama? I am sure, all my friends are aware of it. But, for the record, I would like to say that the Babri Masjid was supposed to have been constructed in 1528 by Mir Baksh, a noble man of Babar's court. And there are verses written over it. I do not want to waste the time of the House by reading because you have rung the bell. It simply says that the mosque has been constructed by him at the command of Babar. There is no evidence at all in any history book or in any chronicle, contemporaneous or otherwise, that Babar was a bigot, that Babar destroyed Hindu places of worship, that Babar did anything that would offend the Hindu sentiment or anything, that he pulled down any Hindu or other places of worship. On the contrary, he was supposed to have been tolerant. He was supposed to have allowed a place to exist near Peshawar called 'Gur Khatri shrine' where Hindus gave their hair. He is supposed to have also visited a Muslim who lived at Katchwa among Hindu yogis and adopted un-Islamic ways of life. If you look at the Hindu and Muslim works, Ram Charit Manas which is written by Tulsi Das, which is the fountain from which our knowledge of Ramayana comes, has absolutely no reference to the fact that the Babri Masjid was the place where Ram was born and that the Hindu temple was destroyed by Babar Surely, if such a thing had happened at that time, then there would have been a reference to this in the Hindu chronicles, if not in the Muslim chronicles.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: But Tulsi Das was never a candidate for elections.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam, my point is very simple... (*Interruptions*) Madam, it was the British who first tried to divide the country in various ways, who believed in the policy of divide and rule. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let her finish. Do not interrupt her. When she is speaking, even if you support her, it distracts her mind. So, you please neither support her nor oppose her just now while she is speaking.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal): We cannot under-estimate her; she cannot be diverted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you want to support her or oppose her, you cannot mention it in your speech.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam, I can understand interruptions when they do not agree with me. But all this wit and hilarity. Madam, does not amuse me. I appeal to my friends that it breaks my flow of thought. If I say something offensive, by all means, raise that point of order. I appeal to you not to indulge in any wit and hilarity now.

Madam, the point I was trying to make is that there was no reference in any history. And I want to place this very important factor on record that it was the British who wanted to divide the country because it made it easier for them to rule. It was the British historians, much much later in the India history who first introduced this whole theory that the Hindu temple was pulled down and the Babri Masjid was built there in order to foment war and disaffection among the Hindus and the Muslims to make their job easier. I just want to read a very brief sentence over here by George Hamilton, the Secretary of State in India at that time. This is what George Hamilton says, and I quote:

> "One hardly knows what to wish for. Unity of ideas and action would be very dangerous politically; divergence of ideas and collusion are administratively troublesome. Of the two, the latter is least risky though

it throws anxiety and responsibility upon those on the spot where fiction exists."

Therefore, the policy-makers of the Raj at that time were well aware that the best way to establish their writ was to promote disaffection. This is by British historians who first started introducing this. Madam, I have many other facts that I would like to mention. But there is no time and I do not want to continue with them. I just want to make two or three points. For the first time, the whole theory of the Hindu temple being pulled down and the Babri Masjid being built was set out as far as my research shows, in 1870 by the British historian Connegi. And he referred to this story and the substantiation that he did was on the basis of local affirmation. He did not state it as an indisputable fact. He said that his story was based upon local affirmation. Neville in 1905 simply repeated what Connegi said. And today the BJP calls it a matter of national faith ... What the British historians said was without any real basis in history. By far the worst attack on secularism, apart from the recent desecration of the Babri Masjid by kar sevaks, was on the night of 22nd and 23rd December, 1949 when statues of Rama and Sita were placed in the mosque. The BJP calls this a miracle. But let us go back for a brief moment into the history. What happened at that time? Madam, an FIR was filed by the local authorities This FIR was lodged by Sub-Inspector Ram Dubey at the police station of Ayodhya on the 23rd of December 1949. It was certified by the office of the District Magistrate on the 11th February 1986. According to Mata Parsad:

"When I reached to Janam Bhoomi around 8 o'clock in the morning, I came to know that a group of 15-16 persons have entered the Babri Masjid after breaking compound gatelock of the mosque or through jumping across the walls of the compound and established therein idol of Shri Bhagwan and painted Sita-Ram on the outer and inner walls. Hans Raj asked them to disperse, but they did not. These persons have already entered the mosque before the available PAC guards could be commanded. Officials of the District Administration came at the site and involved themselves in necessary arrangements. Afterwards a crowd of about 5000 to 6000 persons gathered around, chanting bhajans and raising religious slogans. They tried to enter the mosque but were dispersed and nothing untoward happened because of proper arrangements. Ram Das, Ram Shakti Das and 50 to 60 unidentified persons entered the mosque surreptiously and spoiled its sanctity. Government servants on duty and several others are witness to this. Therefore, it is written and filed."

This is the FIR which was filed at that time. Madam. Pandit Nehru, who was the Prime Minister of India expressed his anguish in the matter. Madam, Panditji's anguish was expressed in a letter to the then Chief Minister Shri Govind Ballabh Pant. Sardar Patel as the Deputy Prime Minister also wrote to Panditji saying that such a unilateral action suggesting an attitude of aggression and discord could not be countenanced. This fact was worth stressing, Madam, because usually these facts are sought to be conveyed on what happened at that time Even what happened thereafter is also of concern. I want to say that the question of *status quo* as it existed on the 15th of August, 1947 is very important in this context because what happened on the night of 22nd and 23rd is something which we cannot compliment. I have gone through several BJP publications. There are various other publications which I have not gone through. What I can see from them is a kind of justification and is simply something that cannot be accepted by anyone. Madam, there is also much more to it. Even pundits are not sure as to out of the six places which are supposed to the birth place of Rama, which one is the real place. There is no unanimity

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in this matter. To call it a matter of national faith and national honour is, I think, taking the point a little too far. Madam, November 1989 had represented a watershed in the country because it was for the first time that Mr. V. P. Singh became Prime Minister and came to power at the mercy of the BJP. For the first time he began to give legitimacy to the kind of theories that were expected to be come a national issue. This has become a national issue. It is of national importance. What did he do at every stage? Mr. V. P. Singh Government has compromised with communalism. And today they are calling themselves the champions of secularism and social justice. He came to power at the mercy of the BJP. He allowed Rath Yatra to continue unimpeded right up to the point when it unleashed so much disturbance all over the country, right up to the point when it came to Bihar. He should not have allowed it to proceed even for one day. Even before, when he contested from Allahabad, he prevented Arif Mohammad Khan from coming to campaign there because he entered into a deal with Imam Bukhari. He prevented Arif Mohammad Khan because Arif had strong views on the matter. What did they do on the elections? Imam issued a Fatwa saying that everybody should vote for the Janta Dal. And these are the people who are now saying that the Congress is communal. Madam, what V. P. Singh did at that stage, I think, what the worst thing. What the then Prime Minister did at that stage was the wrost thing which really exposed him. He entered into a secret deal—this part of the secret deal—with Mr. Vajpayee of the BJP for which an Ordinance was promulgated taking over the ground on Ram Janambhoomi, and immediately he withdrew it one day later merely because Mr. Vajpayee came out with the truth, being probably a little more honest in his conviction than Prime Minister Mr. V. P. Singh. This was the worst compromise. And when did he resign? Mr. Gopalsamy was just saying that they sacrificed their government. No, they did not. He should have resigned the day when Rath Yatra was stopped. He should have resigned. He did not. He clung to government. He wanted to ask for a conscience vote. He had never heard of the anti-defection Bill. He asked MPs for a conscience vote. He stuck to power. He never went. He stayed until they voted him out. So, he compromised at every stage with communalism....

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, I think....

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I have to deal with one more issue on economy.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is 1.30 now and we have to adjourn for lunch.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: You adjourn; I will continue afterwards.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How much time will you take?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I will take ten minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will allow you after lunch.

I have to make an announcement that Mr. M. M. Jacob will make a statement at 6 O'clock in the evening on the bank robbery in Okhla Industrial Area, New Delhi on 15th July, and bomb explosion at the railway track near Patparganj, Delhi on 14th July.

The House stands adjourned for lunch till 2.30.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty-two minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-four minutes past two of the clock,

[The Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan to continue and conclude.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam, I am just saying this to refresh your memory that the whole question of secularism has to be re-examined and articulated as a matter of national faith rather than any particular religion. This is vital to save the shattered social fabric of our country today. Madam, with that, I want to make a reference to the State of the economy.

I don't think that I would be overstating it if I said that our economy, today, is in a state of almost death-throes. We are in great danger of the economy breaking down irritrievably, and we are told that we were in danger, till very recently of India being considered as a defaulter. Madam, today, the day of reckoning has come. But, if we cast our memory back—just about 15 to 16 months back—to the end of 1989, I can prove with the help of figures but, I don't want to take the time of the House. When the National Front Government demitted office in November 1989, we handed over a healthy economy.... Notwithstanding Mr. Madhu Dandavate's now in famous remark 'empty coffers', I can can show you what the state of the economy was when the we handed over power. I can point out what was the rate of inflation, what was the position of balance of payments.

Take, for instance, the rate of inflation. In 1985-86 it was 4.4 per cent. In 1986-87, it was 5.8 per cent. In 1987-88, it was 8.1 per cent. In 1988-89, it was 7.5 per cent. In 1989-90 also, it was same, i.e. 7.5 per cent. But in 1990-91, during the period of the National Front Government, it went up to 10.1 per cent. In May, 1991, it was 10.6 per cent. I can go on with the figures. The prices of primary articles increased by 17.7 per cent in 1990-91, during the regime of the National Front, as against 0.4 per cent in 1989-90, when we handed over charge. Similarly, fuel and light lubricants had a rise of 17.9 per cent at the end of December, 1990, as against 4.2 per cent in 1989. I can go on like this. I can pointout what was the position in regard to balance of payments.

I can point out what was the position in regard to foreign exchange reserves was. The foreign exchange reserves which were roughly about Rs. 3000 crores came down by less than half. When we handed over power it was about Rs. 3,000 crores. I can go on with these figures. But the point that I am trying to make out is that we handed over a healthy economy. And what the National Front Government did with the economy is well-known. If the coffers were empty when we handed over charge, as Mr. Madhu Dandavate said at that time, what prompted them to deal with the economy in a totally callous manner? Madam, we are all for the cause of the farmers. I do not want to get involved in the issue. But I would like to ask. If the coffers were empty when the National Front took over, from where did they find the money to write off loans to the farmers? From where did they find Rs. 10,000 crores? Did they come to grips with the economic situation? If the coffers were empty, how was the then Deputy Prime Minister going from place to place in his own plane? What was the then Minister of Environment, Shrimati Maneka Gandhi, doing? What kind of expenditure were they incurring? Mr. V. P. Singh the then Prime Minister, was going around fooling the people. He used to go on a commercial flight to a particular place just to show that he was economising, whereas, every time, a special plane was following him empty. He inconvenienced the entire travelling public. He will go on a commercial flight and the special plane used to bring him back. This was the kind of drama we had.

DR. RAJA RAMANNA (Uttar Pradesh): It is not true. I know all the aircraft allotment rules. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I can prove. This was never denied by the Government at that time. I can show it to you from the Press reports that at least on two or three occasions, the then Prime Minister went on a commercial flight and came back on the special plane, Prime Ministerial plane.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Which newspaper? National Herald?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: All newspapers. (*Interruptions*) I assert this. If anybody proves it wrong, I will take it back. But as of the moment I assert it. Anyway, that is not the issue here.

SHRI K. G. MAHESHWARAPPA (Karnataka): Then, why did you raise it here?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I assert it. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI KAMLA SINHA (Bihar): Why are you raising non-issues? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI K. G. MAHESHWARAPPA: Your attitude has changed.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: My attitude has not changed. My attitude towards Mr. V. P. Singh will never change. I assure you. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Natarajan, I request you not to get into cross-talk but address the Chair.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Senior Members and former Ministers should know where they are. Let me finish speaking.

SHRI K. G. MAHESHWARAPPA: Where are you?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I am neither a senior Member nor a former Minister.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: May be, in the future.

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM (Uttar Pradesh): You are on the panel of Vice-Chairman (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. A. BABY (Kerala): Madam, Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan has initiated this discussion on the Motion of thanks. But unfortunately, the support she should have got from that side of the House is not forthcoming. It is almost empty. It is true that we behave as a responsible Opposition and we also extend indirect support for the sustenance of this Government. But Madam, even in regard to the Business in the House, if we have to support, if we have to mobilise Members from our side, it is a sad reflection on the functioning of the Government.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please have order and let Shrimati Jayanthi speak. She has to conclude and I have several people to speak. I have a very large list to exhaust.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I will be very brief subject to interruptions. Therefore, I was talking about the profligacy. For the first time, it was the Cabinet with Shri Madhu Dandavate as the Finance Minister and it was the budget which was not presented by the Chandrashekhar Government, that there was a shortfall in the budget in revenue accrual. I do not have the time to read out completely the stand of the Government, but one of the most important steps, corrective steps in the economy, is to improve tax collection, is to improve the efficiency of collection, to improve the revenue shortfall in tax collection. For the first time in Mr. Madhu Dandavate's period and later in the budget that was not presented by the Chandra Shekhar Government there was a shortfall of Rs. 800 crores. This is the way in which the profligacy of the Government worked. Not only profligacy, I charge that they were actively assisting in tax evasion. If the Government was not assisting in tax evasion, there was no way that there could be a shortfall of Rs. 800 crores. Not only that, we are talking about economy. They say that they inheri-

ted empty coffers. If that is so, what made them to give a massive excise write-off which is the biggest scandal of the National Front Government? What made them to write off the excise refund? This scandal has still not seen the light of the day and they say that they inherited empty coffers.

SHRIMATI KAMLA SINHA: This is wrong. You are misleading the House.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I am not going to listen to anything. It is the greatest scandal of the National Front Government which till today has not been explained properly.

SHRIMATI KAMLA SINHA: I am on a point of order.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I am not yielding.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have before me a big list of speakers. I can see your name over there and when the time comes you can repudiate all the charges if they are so made by Mrs. Natarajan, but if you keep on interrupting or if anybody interrupts, I will make a point to reduce that much time from his speech. So, please be careful. (*Interruptions*). There cannot be any point of order when she is making a speech. (*Interruptions*).

AN HON. MEMBER: Madam, I am on a point of order.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I know it is a point of disorder.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: If there is a point of order, please hear her.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What point of order do you want to raise?

SHRIMATI KAMLA SINHA: Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan has raised an issue. She says that the excise revenue is a scandal. I say that it has been going on for the last 20 years. It was a statutory obligation which was going on in the last 20 years. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now please do not involve yourselves into a cross-talk. Mrs. Natarajan, you look at the Chair if you so like and continue your speech.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I am looking at Mr. Sinha, asking him to enlighten us.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Is he more attractive than the Chair?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Hundred per cent.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Bihar): Not compared to the Chair.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I was talking about the profligacy of the National Front Government. I know it is uncomfortable for a lot of people but I want to get on with my speech. My colleague who raised a non-point of order, I want to answer by saying that she has not got the facts. I would not like to go into that. I have said what I wanted to say. If she has different facts, let her bring before the House.

The burning issues regarding economy today are: Devaluation of rupee. The Government called it "adjustment in the exchange rate" but I prefer to call it 'devaluation'. It is easier. Then there is the question of IMF loan. Then, of course, we have the questions of sale of gold and the balance of payments situation. Madam, there has been a double talk on the question of devaluation, not on the part of the Treasury Benches or the Congress but on the part of the Opposition, my colleagues who are sitting there in the opposition. Before I go into the question of devaluation I would like to remind this House of Mahatma Gandhi who as early as 1931 gave the British Viceroy 11 pre-conditions which had to be fulfilled before he would need the British Viceroy. One of those pre-conditions was for a

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devaluation of the rupee at that time, because Gandhiji noted that the country's economy was suffering from the colonial rulers' refusal to allow the internal value of the rupee to reflect the external. I do not know if the Members of the Opposition will now agree with Gandhiji.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: So this is according to Gandhiji?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Yes, absolutely... (*Interruptions*)... Madam, the fact of the matter is that something needed to be done. What was the situation at that time? ... (*Interruptions*)... Madam, newspapers said that the Reserve Bank of India's foreign exchange reserves including gold and SDRs had dipped below Rs. 2,500 crores, equivalent to about 10 day's imports. There were rumours that international credit agencies would further downgrade India, and then there were apprehensions that non-resident Indians all over the world would conduct a run on the banks, would remove all their money because they thought it was no longer safe. There was even a rumour that exporters were delaying in remitting their earnings and, in the ultimate, there was a report in the press—there was a screaming headline—that the State Bank of India's foreign exchange kitty was running out. This was the kind of situation in which the Government had to take a decision to devalue the rupee. It had to be done as a piece of economic strategy in order to send signals to the world community that we mean business and we mean to set our economy in order.

Now, the President of the BJP has made a very strange remark that it amounts to a devaluation of the nation's honour. I do not know what his concept of the nation's honour is and whether it does not include the sight of *karsevaks* sitting on top of the Babri Masjid and desecrating it. That is not an insult to the nation's honour, but something that even Gandhiji believed was right in order to correct the nation's economy amounts to a devaluation of the country's honour—and this coming from a party which always openly believed in a free floating exchange rate! This is the strangest thing and it is opposition for the sake of opposition. So it may not be so strange!

Madam, I am not an expert on the economy. I just wanted to place on record my understanding. I have figures, over here, of the kind of people who would stand to gain and those who would not benefit from this. Again, I don't want to take the time of the House. The gainers from the devaluation policy will be exporting industries, the rice industry, garments and textiles and finished leather. Basically, industry is very happy about it. Exporters are very happy about it. It is the importers who are, naturally, worried about what is going to happen... (*Time-bell rings*)... Madam, I am going to finish in a minute; I won't take more time on this.

When you talk about the IMF loan, Madam, I have just read an article by Inder Malhotra in *The Hindu*, which set it very beautifully. The whole IMF situation can be summed up in just one sentence. About a year or two ago, India Today magazine had carried an article about the political alternatives before the country, and they popularized the term called the "TINA" factor, meaning, "There Is No Alternative.' Of course, at that time, as soon as the National Front had won the election somebody came and told me, "The TINA factor doesn't work any more. Now it is the 'SITA' factor. It is not a question of there being no alternative. The question now is the 'SITA' factor, that is, 'Singh Is The Alternative.'" Now that the country has shown all along that Singh is not the alternative, I think it has come back to the "TINA" factor. The

"TINA" factor has now shifted from the political aspect to the economic aspect of this country's future.

The Finance Minister has assured us that we cannot run the economy without taking an IMF loan. Again, I have been doing a little reading and again, as I said, I am not an expert. I know what the economists that are a little left of the centre are saying. They are talking, as far as I can see, of several ways of avoiding an IMF loan and making sure that we are still able to generate enough money to keep going, and these measures include pruning the Government expenditure, improving the recovery of taxes, control of black money and increasing the direct taxes I fail to see, with great respect to the left of the centre economists, how raising of direct taxes will possibly stop black money from being generated in the country. It would only increase the tax-evasion.

As far as other measures are concerned, these are actually already a part of the Congress Manifesto, these are already a part of our programme. But they are still not going to help us. They are not enough to tide over the crisis. If we really have to go to the IMF and there is no other way of doing it, it is unfair to accuse the Government of succumbing to pressure when the Government is doing only something which they would have done in the national interest. Madam, let me say that I join every single one here in demanding that the Government should not give in to any kind of pressure, in demanding that our national honour should not be compromised at any time. (*Time bell rings*).

I will just say one word about women, and then I will sit down.

Madam, the conditionalities of the IMF loan are a matter that seriously concerns every single individual. We are seriously worried, if it is a question of tightening of your belt, whose belt you should tighten. We are really worried that the poor people of this country, who do not get even one square meal a day, should be told to tighten their belts.

Madam, I have also read John Kenneth Galbraith's statement that the IMF policies are always hitting out at the poor and vulnerable sections of the society. I have also read a statement by the present Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, that the IMF policies are not good, that they will affect the poor people. But, in spite of all this, if we have to take the loan, we have to make sure that the conditionalities do not really hit out at the poor people, which will really make them suffer.

Madam, therefore, I have a few suggestions to make to the Government:

At no cost should our economic sovereignty be compromised. When the Government considers the question of cutting the food and fertilizer subsidies, they should be very carefully considered because if the food subsidies are cut, then, it is really the poorest of the poor people who are going to suffer. At no cost should they be made to bear the burden of the country's profligacy, the profligacy of the various Governments. So, before you cut the food subsidy, very very careful attention should be paid to this. (*Time bell rings*)

Madam, about the public distribution system, the Prime Minister has referred to this and said that it will be tackled on a war-footing. Over 13 million to 15 million tonnes of foodstuffs are distributed through over 300,000 fair-price shops in the country. Several essential commodities are distributed through the public distribution system. But the public distribution system in the country is known more for the way in which it has failed miserably rather than the way in which it has functioned. Without going into the details, since you have pressed the bill so many times, it is very important that the Government pulls up the public distribution system immediately. It is

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important that we have specific field surveys and constant monitoring of the public distribution system. It is important that there should be two-way flow of information including that from the consumer bodies, and it is important that the public distribution system should not be hijacked by the essential commodities getting into private channels. Madam, this is of prime importance. We cannot have a new economy at the cost of the poor people of this country. It is the people who can afford to pay, who must be asked to bear the burden. Whether we get the IMF loan or not, whatever the conditionalities are, I hope that at no cost would this Government compromise the interests of the people who are really suffering at the level of deprivation below the poverty-line. (*Time bell rings*)

Madam, finally, I want to remind the Government of the promises that we made in the Congress Manifesto, that within a hundred days several steps have to be taken, particularly on the front of the economy. Every single one of us on the Treasury Benches would put utmost pressure. (*Interruptions*) I am reminding them. I don't want you to remind me about it.

Madam, I want to say just two sentences about women, and I will sit down.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think you have taken more time, Mrs. Natarajan. Never mind. Still you have been very good. Let a gentelman speak about women. It will be nicer. Leave something for the seconder also.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam, if you would collect an anthology of all the country's laws on women, you would have a shelf full of statutes. All I say is that all the statutes have very good shelf life, but they have been of little practical use to the women of this country. I am glad that the President's Address has made a serious reference to the problems of women and said that they would appoint a Commissioner for Women's Rights. We have a dynamic Minister in Mrs. Margaret Alva. She has really fought for the cause of women, and she is continuing to fight for the cause of women today.

Madam, I have only three very specific issues. The whole approach to the women's problems has to be brought here in the form of a package. We are sick and tired of piecemeal reforms. We do not want you to suddenly give us Rs. 20,000 in the form of a grant, establish a half-way home here and establish a welfare centre there and then sit back feeling very happy. There has to be an integrated approach, a package of reforms that cover education, that cover employment, that cover health. The very enumeration in the Census has shown an alarming trend. There is a decline in the sex ratio and the women in the country are just fading away. So, there has to be a complete package of health and nutrition and education and employment so that women of this country can take their place as equal partners. The problem is that you adopt a specific approach which means the moment you allot certain amount of money for a particular women's programme, it is immediately forgotten afterwards. You have one Ministry for women's welfare and you forget about it. What I want is that there should be a women's component in every plan. In every Ministry there should be a women's cell so that you are able to monitor the progress. To protect the women's rights there should be a Committee.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA (Karnataka): We have women cell in every family.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If not two or three.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: This should be the actual function of the Commission for Women's Rights. He should see that

every department of the Government fulfils the promises towards women and make women necessary component of every development strategy.

Secondly, I would like to talk about housing for women. When the question of housing is taken into consideration, women are completely ignored. Women form majority of the homeless population of the country, because the housing policy of the Government simply does not take into consideration the needs of the women. If you just look back you will find women spend on an average 8.33 years of their life in kitchens. Sixteen per cent of her life is in the kitchen. On an average it is 3,041 days in her life. And yet the kitchen is the least healthy place, the most ill-ventilated and very very unsafe place in the whole house. The whole attention is concentrated upon the drawing rooms, bed-rooms and all other areas where men function and the kitchen is completely left out. Therefore, I say that within the framework of the housing policy at least now the problems of women should be taken into consideration immediately.

Finally, the Census rules need to be amended. I want to draw the attention of the Government to this particular aspect. The reason why enough funds are not set aside for the welfare of women is their invisibility in the Gross National Product. When GNP is computed you find the women's component of work is never taken into consideration. The kind of work which is done by the men is counted as productive work, but the work that is done by women—cooking and her other household work—is not regarded as work at all. That is regarded as a labour of love. Therefore, when her productivity is not not taken into consideration, naturally allotment is not made for women's programmes. So, the Census rules have to be amended immediately.

3.00 P.M.

Thank you, Madam, I commend the the Motion of Thanks.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are thanking the President and the Chair as well.

श्री सैयद सिब्ते रजी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैडम, मैं श्रीमती जयन्ती नटराजन के द्वारा महामहिम राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण के प्रति जो धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव रखा गया है उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूं । जैसा कि आप जानती हैं, मैडम, राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण किसी भी सरकार की नीतियों, कार्यक्रमों और उस सरकार के सामने क्या मुख्य चुनौतियां हैं और उन चुनौतियों का वह किस प्रकार से होंसले और वकार के साथ मुकाबला करना चाहती है, उसका विवरण होता है । कुछ सूरतों में महामहिम राष्ट्रपति महोदय का यह खुतबा और अभिभाषण यदि ऐतिहासिक कहा जाए, एतिहासिक कहा जाए तो गलत न होगा और जिन बिन्दुओं के ऊपर उन्होंने अपनी सरकार की चिंता व्यक्त की है वह निश्चित रूप केवल एक पार्टी की ही चिंता नहीं है बल्कि वह चिंता हमारे पूरे देश की चिंता है, उन लोगों की जो सर्वहारा वर्ग, देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था, देश के बकार, देश की इज्जत और देश की अखंडता और सार्वभौमिकता कायम रखने में दिलचस्पी रखते हैं । दसवीं लोक सभा का सत्र प्रारंभ हो चुका है और इस सत्र के संयुक्त अभिभाषण की भी अपनी महत्ता और हो जाती है और इससे यह भी निर्धारित हुआ कि हमारी आगे आने वाली लोक सभा और राज्य सभा किस ओर देश की समस्याओं का समाधान निकालने के लिए बढ़ेगी । जब हम आज चर्चा कर रहे हैं महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के इस अभिभाषण पर तो देश पर मुख्तलिफ तरह के साए छाए हुए हैं । पंजाब अभी भी जल रहा है । आसाम में अभी भी समस्याओं का समाधान नहीं हुआ है । मिलिटेंट, खाड़कू या जो भी आप नाम दें, उन्होंने किस प्रकार से इन्नोसेंट सिटिजन्स को, बेकसूर नागरिकों को अपने बंधक की सूरत में रखा हुआ है । कश्मीर की समस्या जहां थी, वहीं खड़ी हुई है गरानी चरम सीमा तक पहुंच चुकी है और सबसे बड़ी बात देश में सौहार्द और एकता की आपस की जो मिली-जुली तहज़ीब और तमद्दुन है,

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. चन्द्रेश पी. ठाकुर) पीठासीन हुए]

उन सबका खतरा किसी न किसी जगह, किसी न किसी सूरत में बना हुआ है ।

अभी-अभी हम चुनाव से उभरकर आए हैं । यह चुनाव निश्चित रूप से हमारे लिए बहुत घातक सिद्ध हुए हैं। यह कहना कि पिछले चुनाव में अधिक लोग मारे गए थे, इस चुनाव में लोग कम मारे गए हैं, यह तो केवल नम्बरों का खेल होगा । लेकिन जब तक हमारे लोकतंत्र में अपने मत को, अपनी राय को जाहिर करने के लिए एक व्यक्ति भी मारा जाता है, तब तक हमारा लोकतंत्र, हमारी जम्हूरियत और हमारा गणतंत्र खतरे में है, हमारा संविधान खतरे में है । पिछले चुनाव में, जो अभी-अभी खत्म हुए, लगभग 300 लोग पूरे देश में मारे गए, लेकिन जो सबसे बड़ी महाक्षति हुई है इस देश के अंदर, जिसके बारे में केवल हमने ही नहीं, दुनिया के सारे राजनेताओं ने, देश के समस्त राजनेताओं ने अपने मत व्यक्त किए हैं और राजीव गांधी की हत्या की भर्त्सना की है और साथ-साथ यह कहा गया है कि निश्चित रूप से देश ने एक महान, होनहार नेता खो दिया है । राजीव गांधी जी की हत्या क्यों हुई, इस पर कई बार इस सदन में चर्चा हो चुकी है और वह क्यों मारे गए इसके बारे में देश और विदेश में बहुत सारे लोग जानते हैं । राष्ट्रपति जी ने इस हत्या के बारे में बड़े मार्मिक शब्दों में वर्णन किया है । राजीव गांधी, मैं समझता हूं आप मुझसे सहमत होंगे कि अपनी उन नीतियों की वजह से मारे गए जो इस दुनिया की तमाम बड़ी ताकतों को पसंद नहीं थीं। वह मारे गए इसलिए कि उन्होंने दुनिया के सामने एक नए संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ की संकल्पना की बात की थी । मैं समझता हूं कि वह मारे गए इसलिए कि उन्होंने दुनिया के अंदर एक नई अंतर्राष्ट्रीय आर्थिक व्यवस्था की बात की थी । मैं समझता हूं कि वह मारे गए इसलिए कि उन्होंने साम्राज्यवादी और इम्पीरेलिस्टिक फोर्सिज के जरिए इराक को जब हमारे हवाई अड्डों के ऊपर तेल भरकर भेजा जा रहा था, लड़ाई के जमाने में, तो उन्होंने उसकी खुली भर्त्सना की थी, उसके विरुद्ध आवाज उठाई थी । बहुत सी चीजें हो सकती हैं, लेकिन मैं समझता हूं इन बिन्दुओं के ऊपर जब हम देखते हैं, राजीव गांधी जी आज हमारे बीच नहीं हैं, बहुत सी ताकतें उभरकर सामने आती हैं और वह समझती हैं कि शायद राजीव गांधी के जाने से हमारी पार्टी कमजोर हो गई होगी या हमारा देश कमजोर हो गया होगा । तो ऐसी ताकतों को जो देश को बर्बाद करना चाहती हैं, उनको हताश होना पड़ा है। जिस खूबसूरती से हमने अपनी पार्टी का नेता चुना, जिस तरह से हमने अपनी आंतरिक समस्याओं का समाधान किया, उससे पता चलता है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी एक ऐसे ऐतिहासिक पार्टी है, जिसने चुनौतियों के समय आपस की टूटन को दूर किया है और देश की समस्याओं को सामने रखा है । निश्चित रूप से राजीव गांधी के प्रति इससे बड़ी श्रद्धांजलि हो ही नहीं सकती थी कि हम अपनी पार्टी में अपने नेता का चुनाव बिना किसी रुकावट के कर लें ।

आप जानते हैं कि राजीव गांधी ने अपने पांच साल के नेतृत्वकाल में, अपने प्रधान मंत्रित्व काल के अंदर कई मर्तबा ऐसे फैसले किए जो उनकी पार्टी के हित के खिलाफ गए । लेकिन उन्होंने कहा और बहुत जोरदार तरीके से कहा कि देश पार्टी के ऊपर है और देश को बचाने के लिए अगर मुझे अपनी पार्टी के लिए भी कोई नुकसान उठाना पड़ेगा तो मैं उसे भी सहन करूंगा । चाहे वह असम का समझौता रहा हो, चाहे वह पंजाब का लोंगोवाल साहब के साथ समझौता रहा हो, चाहे वह विश्व शांति की स्थापना के लिए दिल्ली डेक्लेरेशन का समझौता रहा हो, या अपने पड़ौसी देशों से समझौता रहा हो, उन्होंने इस बात का ख्याल रखा कि देश के लोगों की भलाई किस चीज में होगी ।

आज हमारे सामने भयंकर आर्थिक संकट है । इसके लिए हमारे प्रधान मंत्री,

देश के प्रधानमंत्री ने जो कदम उठाए हैं, वह कदम ऐसे हैं कि यदि न उठाए जाते तो हम उस आर्थिक गर्त में जाकर गिर जाते, जहां से फिर उभर कर उठना मुश्किल हो जाता । इसलिए समय की इस पुकार को पूरा करते हुए और उनके बूढ़े किन्तु मजबूत कंधों पर, उनके तजुर्बेकार कंधों पर पार्टी ने और देश ने जो जिम्मेदारी डाली है उसको पूरा करते हुए उन्होंने वक्त का तकाजा पूरा किया है, चाहे मुद्रापुनर्मूल्यांकन की बात हो, चाहे बैलेन्स आफ पेमेन्ट के संतुलन को बराबर करते रहने की बात हो । उन्होंने अपने पहले ही भाषण में यह कहा कि देश के लोगों को पूर्ण रूप से तैयार हो जाना चाहिए उन तमाम मुश्किलों का मुकाबला करने के लिए, जो हो सकता है कुछ व्यक्तियों के लिए, कुछ ग्रुपों के लिए नुकसानदेह हो, हानिकारक हो, लेकिन देश के हित में एक बड़ी चुनौती का सामना करने के लिए हमें बड़ी कुर्बानियां देने के लिए तैयार रहना चाहिए ।

मान्यवर, निश्चित रूप से पिछले डेढ़-दो साल के अंदर जो हुआ है, उसके बारे में मैं ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहूंगा । लेकिन इन पिछले डेढ़-दो साल के अन्दर जिन पार्टियों के शासन थे, उनकी आंतरिक लड़ाई के कारण राष्ट्र और देश के जो जलते हुए सवाल थे उन पर वे फैसला नहीं कर सके । उनके फैसले अनिर्णायक स्थिति के रहे । ऐसी स्थिति हमारे सामने आकर खड़ी हो गई कि जब हम सत्ता में आए तो हमें डीजल इम्पोर्ट करने के लिए हमारे पास मुद्रा कोष नहीं, हमारे पास केरोसिन आयल इम्पोर्ट करने के लिए कोष की कमी, हमारे इंडिबल आयल को आयात करने के लिए कोष में कमी और किसानों को देने के लिए फर्टिलाइजर आयात करने के लिए मुद्रा की, फारेन-एक्सचेंज की कमी, यह स्थिति हमारे सामने है । इन सब चीजों को देखते हुए जो कदम सरकार द्वारा उठाए गए हैं, वह बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण हैं और निश्चित रूप से मैं उनका स्वागत करता हूं ।

मान्यवर, राजीव जी की हत्या के बारे में सिर्फ मैं इतना ही कहना चाहूंगा कि अखबारों और कई रिसालों में छपा है कि अक्तूबर, 1990 में इस बात की संरचना की गई थी कि राजीव गांधी को किस प्रकार भारत के ही नहीं बल्कि दुनिया के राजनीतिक मंच से हत्या करके हटाया जाना है । हमें अफसोस है कि हमारी उस वक्त की सरकार, हमारी उस वक्त की इंटेलिजेन्स एजेन्सी, हमारे सूचना के साधन नाकामयाब साबित हुए, इनएफेक्टिव साबित हुए और अगर मैं ज्यादा कुछ कहूं अगर आप इजाजत दें तो निकम्मे साबित हुए । हमारे महान भारत के बहुत बड़े सपूत को उन लोगों ने, जिनका ताल्लुक मुख्य रूप से हमारी धरती से भी नहीं है, बाहर से बैठकर, एक अंतर्राष्ट्रीय साजिश करके हमसे छीन लिया ।

मान्यवर, आज जी. एन. पी. रेट में कमी आई है, उत्पादन में कमी आई है । ऐसी बहुत सी चीजें हैं, जिनका प्रभाव पिछले डेढ़-दो साल के शासन-काल के कारण पड़ा है । लेकिन मैं स्वागत करता हूं माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी के उन फैसलों का, जिससे उन्होंने देश के सामने एक नई सूची रख दी है, आवश्यकताओं की प्राय रिटोज की नई सूची रखी है । अब तक दुनिया के लोग, हमारे देश के लोग यही समझते थे कि इस देश के अंदर केवल दो समस्याएं हैं—राम मंदिर की समस्या और बाबरी मस्जिद की समस्या । सारी राजनीतिक केन्द्र-बिन्दु के सामने यही दो-समस्यायें बनी हुई हैं । लेकिन आज देश की जनता ने चुनाव के अंदर अपने वोट का इस्तेमाल केवल इन दो समस्याओं को अपने सामने रखकर नहीं किया है बल्कि बेरोजगारी की समस्या, बेकारी की समस्या, बढ़ती हुई कीमतों की समस्या, मुद्रा-अर्जन की समस्या, एक्सचेंज रेट की समस्या, इन सब समस्याओं को सामने रखते हुए लोगों ने अपना फैसला दिया है । आज समझ में आ रहा है कि हमारे सामने कौनसा असली मुद्दा है और वक्त के इस मुकाबले के अंदर क्या सांप्रदायिकता या धर्म के नाम पर वोट लेने की या सांप्रदायिकता फैला कर लोगों में द्वेष और लेश पैदा करने की लकीर ज्यादा बड़ी है या सामाजिक समानता लाने की, आर्थिक असमानतता को समाप्त करने की

[श्री सैयद सिब्ते जी]

लोगों को रोजी और रोटी देने की समस्या न्याय देने की समस्या की लकीर ज्यादा बड़ी है ।

आज कांग्रेस ने इस बात को साबित करने की कोशिश की है कि इन छोटी लकीरों के मुकाबले में एक बड़ी लकीर है और उस बड़ी लकीर को समाप्त करने के लिये इस देश में एक नयी आर्थिक क्रांति लाने के लिये हम सबको मिलकर काम करना है ।

मुझे आशा है कि भुगतान के संतुलन पर हमारी पकड़ बनेगी । लेकिन इसी के साथ-साथ इस बात की भी शंका है कि हमने जब पहले मुद्रा का अवमूल्यन किया, डिवैल्यूएशन किया है सन् 1966 में और सन् 1981 में तो उस खास तौर से, विशेष तौर पर सन् 1966 में जब मुद्रा का अवमूल्यन हुआ, उससे बहुत ज्यादा फायदे नहीं हुये हैं और उससे कुछ न कुछ नुकसानात भी हुये हैं और निश्चित रूप से जब हम अवमूल्यन करते हैं तो उससे किसी न किसी वर्ग को नुकसान पहुंचता है । मुझे आशा है कि हमारी नयी सरकार इस बात पर तवोज्जह करेगी कि अवमूल्यन का असर वह गरीब तबके को नुकसान की सूरत में न पहुंचे । हमारे वाणिज्य मंत्री ने इस सिलसिले में, कि विदेशी मुद्रा नीति को हम किस प्रकार से बाजारोन्मुख बना सकते है, उसकी गति में कितनी तेजी ला सकते हैं, अपनी मुद्रा को अपने निर्यात किये हुये माल को किस प्रकार हम प्रतिस्पर्द्धी से भरी हुई मार्किट के अन्दर अपने पैरो पर खड़े होने की शक्ति दे सकते हैं; वाणिज्य मंत्री ने जो 13 फैसले किये हैं, मुझे उम्मीद है कि उससे हमारे निर्यात के ऊपर अच्छा असर पड़ेगा, हमारा निर्यात बढ़ेगा ।

मैं स्वागत करता हूं उस सब्सडी को स्थगन किये जाने के सिलसिले में जो हमारे निर्यातकों को अभी तक दी जाती रही थी और हम यह समझते थे कि शायद विदेशी व्यापार के अंदर जब तक हम सब्सिडी नहीं देंगे, विशेष सहूलियत नहीं देंगे अपने निर्यातकों को तब तक हम विदेशी व्यापार में खड़े नहीं हो पायेंगे । निश्चित रूप से अब तक जो हमने सबसिडी दी है वह करीब-करीब वार्षिक रूप से 26 अरब रुपये जाकर होती है । सबसिडी सस्पैंड करने के लिये मैं समझता हूं कि मुद्रा की हमारी जो समस्या है, फारेन एक्सचेंज की जो समस्या है उसमें भी फर्क पड़ेगा और इसी के साथ-साथ जो हमारे निर्यातकर्ता हैं उनको भी कोई बहुत बड़ा नुकसान नहीं होगा, क्योंकि डिवैल्यूएशन की वजह से जो विदेशी व्यापार है निश्चित रूप से उसमें 18-20 प्रतिशत का फायदा पहुंचेगा । मैं तो यह कहना चाहूंगा कि यदि हमारे निर्यातक देश की सेवा करना चाहते हैं तो सबसिडी के स्थगन के स्थान पर यदि सबसिडी को समाप्त करने का फैसला हमारी सरकार करती है, हमारी पटी करती है तो वह उसका स्वागत करें और अपने पैरो पर खड़े होकर अंतर्राष्ट्रीय बाजार के अंदर जाकर खड़े हों ।

अंतर्राष्ट्रीय हुंडी का जो एक नया तरीका अपनाया गया है उसका भी मैं स्वागत करता हूं और मुझे उम्मीद है कि इसमें भ्रष्टाचार में कमी आयेगी । मुझे उम्मीद है कि पांच साल के अंदर विदेशी व्यापार के क्षेत्र में विश्व में प्रतिस्पर्द्धा के जो क्षेत्र हैं और हमारे मार्केट में हमारी जो परिवर्तनीय मुद्रा की स्थिति है वह अच्छी होगी । आज जो कुछ प्रश्न खड़े हुये हैं कि हमारा जो निर्यात है वह न कारणोवश सस्ता हो जायेगा और जो आयात है वह महंगा हो जायेगा, इन सब शंकाओं के ऊपर मुझे उम्मीद है कि हमारी सरकार पूर्ण रूप से ध्यान देगी ।

हमारे ऋण सेवा अनुपात की जो परिस्थिति है, वह अभी कोई बहुत अच्छी नहीं है । यानी जितना भी हम आयात करते हैं, जैसा कि आप जानते है कि उसका 28 प्रतिशत जो है वह फारेन एक्सचेंज से जो हमें अभी मिलता है वह हम अपने कर्ज अदा करने में अदा कर देते हैं । हमें निश्चित रूप से निर्यात बढ़ाकर इस रेशो को कम करना होगा और तभी यह संभव हो पायेगा कि हम पूर्ण रूप में इस क्षेत्र में कामयाब हों ।

आज हमारे आयात और निर्यात का जो अंतर है वह भी काफी है । जितना हम निर्यात करते हैं उससे करीब-करीब 25 प्रतिशत ज्यादा हम आयात करते हैं और इस सूरत में हमें एक बहुत बड़ी धनराशि फारेन एक्सचेंज की सूरत में देनी पड़ती है । अगर मान्यवर, आप इजाजत दें तो 1989-90 के आकड़े मैं आपके सामने रखने का प्रयास करूं कि 1989-90 के दौरान हमने 80 हजार करोड़ रुपये का माल आयात किया और जिस की जगह पर केवल हमने 30 हजार करोड़ रुपये का निर्यात किया । तो निश्चित रूप से पिछले डढ़-दो साल के अंदर हमारे निर्यात का जो क्षेत्र है उसमें कमी आयी है । तेल के दाम खाड़ी युद्ध के कारण बढ़े और हमने कई तरीकों से उस बढ़े हुये दबाव का मुकाबला करने की कोशिश की । लेकिन जो रिपोर्ट्स हैं वे कोई बहुत अच्छी नहीं हैं। अभी जो एक ओ०एन०जी०सी० की रिपोर्ट है उसके लिहाज से आगे वाले कुछ वर्षों के अंदर हमारा जो इंडिकेटनस क्रूड आयल प्रोडक्शन का कार्यक्रम है वह प्रभावित होने जा रहा है और मैं 14 जुलाई के टाइम्स आफ इंडिया से वोट करना चाहूंगा--

> "Oil industry circles recall that the ONGC may end up with a shortfall ranging from 33 million tonnes to 39 million tonnes during the Eighth Plan At current prices this will cost Rs. 12,000 to Rs. 14,000 crores in foreign exchange."

महोदय, आज जितना फारेन-एक्सचेंज हमें तेल के आयात के लिए देना पड़ रहा है, अगर यही स्थिति रही तो अगले दो-तीन साल के अंदर हमें करीब 12-14 हजार करोड़ रुपया और फारेन-एक्सचेंज के रूप में देना पड़ेगा । इसलिए हमें तेल के स्रोतों को और ज्यादा खोजने और बढ़ाने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए । महोदय, पिछले करीब डेढ़ साल से ओ०एन०जी०सी० का प्रपोजल भारत सरकार के सामने पड़ा हुआ है । मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि हमारी सरकार कब तक उसे अपनी सैंक्शन और एप्रूवल देने के बाद आगे काम करने का मौका देगी ?

मान्यवर, अभी तक हम कुछ परंपरागत चीजों का ही निर्यात करते रहे हैं जैसे--चाय, कॉफी, पटसन, दस्तकारी की चीजें, कपड़ा, रेडीमेड गारमेंट्स आदि । अब अगर 1990-91 की रिपोर्ट आप देखें तो जितना भी हमने निर्यात किया है उसमें 25 प्रतिशत हिस्सा कपड़ों और रेडीमेड गारमेंट्स का है । निश्चित रूप से इंजीनियरिंग गुड्स और रसायन का कुछ सामन भी हम भेजते हैं लेकिन अपने निर्यात को बढ़ाने के लिए हमें नए क्षेत्र ढूंढने होंगे और इन पर ज्यादा ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता होगी । तभी हम निर्यात को बढ़ाने में सक्षम हो सकेंगे और नए मार्केट ढंढ सकेंगे ।

महोदय, मैं इस एलान का स्वागत करूंगा कि हमारी टेलीफोन इंडस्ट्री करीब 5 लाख टेलीफोन इंस्ट्रूमेंट्स अगले वर्ष के दौरान युनाइटेड स्टेट्स आफ अमरीका को सप्लाई करने जा रही है । मैं समझता हूं कि इससे काफी धनराशि हमें फारेन-एक्सचेंज के रूप में मिलेगी ।

इसी प्रकार हमें और चीजों में भी नए रास्ते ढूंढने पड़ेंगे तभी यह संभव हो पाएगा कि हम इस बड़े कर्ज से उबर सकें क्योंकि आई०एम०एफ० से लोन मिलना ही समस्या का समाधान नहीं है । इस लोन का निश्चत रूप से हमें रिपेमेंट करना पड़ेगा और अभी तक भारतवर्ष का रिकार्ड लोन के रिपेमेंट के सिलसिले में दुनिया की दृष्टि मे बहुत अच्छा है । हमें आशा है कि हम अपने इस रिकार्ड को किसी भी प्रकार से दागदार नहीं होने देंगे ।

मान्यवर, हिंसा के बारे में, सांप्रदायिकता के बारे में, आतंकवाद के बारे में महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कई बातें कही हैं । मैं बड़ी हयूमिलिटी के साथ कहना चाहूंगा कि

[श्री सैयद सिब्तेरजी]

आज जब हम अखबार उठाकर देखते हैं तो हम पाते हैं कि रोज न जाने कितने लोगों के मारे जाने की खबरें छपती रहती हैं और कहीं-कहीं भारत के किन्हीं क्षेत्रों से तो ऐसी खबरें आती हैं कि जिनसे लगता है कि हम एक स्थाई गृह-युद्ध के शिकार हो गए हैं और इस प्रकार से लोगों को एलिमिनेट करना, लोगों को मारना, उनकी जान लेना आज हमारी राजनीतिक और सामाजिक प्रक्रिया का हिस्सा बन चुका है ।

हमें याद है जब हम आठवें दशक में थे तब यदि किसी प्रदर्शन के ऊपर चाहे वह स्टूडेंट्स का हो या मजदूरों का हो या और किसी का हो, यदि उन पर कभी गोली चल जाया करती थी तो वह बहुत बड़ी न्यूज हुआ करती थी और आज न जाने कितने अखबार रोज ये खबरें छापते हैं कि इतने इनोसेंट लोग, बेकसूर लोग किसी ट्रेन से उतारकर मार दिए गए या बस से उतारकर मार दिए गए या पुलिस के जवान जो अपने काम में लगे हुए थे उनको गोली से भून दिया गया । लेकिन शायद इनका कोई असर हमारे ऊपर नहीं होता ।

श्रीमन, अभी अभी घटना हुई दिल्ली में एक बैंक लूटने की, उसके बारे में आप समझते हैं कि किस प्रकार से आतंकवाद और हिंसा हमारे मिजाज का एक हिस्सा बन गई है । अगर आप मुझे कहने की अनुमति दें तो मुझे याद है कि श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने एक पर्चे के ऊपर लिखा था जो उनकी डैस्क के ऊपर मिला, कि मुझे इस बात का अंदेशा है कि मेरी हत्या कर दी जाएगी । यदि मेरी हत्या हो जाती है तो हिंसा मेरी हत्या में नहीं होगी, हिंसा मेरी हत्या करने वालों के मन में होगी आज उसी परिस्थिति में आकर हम खड़े हो गए हैं कि हिंसा हमारे मन में साधारण स्तर पर पहुंच गई है । हममें सहिष्णुता और बर्दाश्त की कमी होती जा रही है । यह बहुत बड़ा राष्ट्रीय संकट है । यह पार्टी का शासन का या सत्ता का प्रश्न ही नहीं है, यह देश का प्रश्न है, संसद सदस्यों का प्रश्न है, विधान सभा सदस्यों का प्रश्न है, देश के हर नागरिक का प्रश्न है जो देश से मोहब्बत करता है, जो लोकतंत्र में विश्वास करता है, जो कंसेंसस के जरिए अपने मसायल को हल करने का रास्ता ढूंढता है । आज प्रश्न है कि कैसे हमारा यह लोकतंत्र जिन्दा रहेगा। आज हिंसा हमारे जीवन का एक हिस्सा बन गई है । यदि हम वोट डालने जाते हैं तो अगर घर वापस लौटना नसीब नहीं होता तो क्या कल घर वाले किसी का वोट डालने जाने देंगे ? अगर पता लगे कि बूथ कैप्चरिंग में वोट का बक्सा ही गायब हो जाएगा तो चाहे कोई भी पार्टी हो, कोई भी शक्ति हो, जितनी भी ताकत में वह संसद में पहुंच जाए, इस देश को खंडित होने से रोक नहीं पाएगी । इसलिए हम सब को मिलकर ऐसे इंस्टीट्यूशंस को, ऐसे इदारों को मजबूत बनाना है और लोकतंत्र से हिंसा को दूर रखकर ही हम बुनियादी तौर पर देश में, समाज में तब्दीली ला सकते हैं चाहे वह सर्वहारा वर्ग के लिए हो, चाहे पिछड़ी जातियों के लिए हो, चाहे ऊंची जाति के लिए हो, चाहे नवयुवकों के लिए हो

श्रीमन, आपको याद होगा कि मंडल कमीशन के ऐनाउंसमेंट के बाद लगभग 200 या 300 विद्यार्थियों ने दिल्ली से लेकर भारत के न जाने कितने शहरों में अपनी जिस्म पर मिट्टी का तेल छिड़ककर आग लगा ली थी। आज हमारे में संवेदनशीलता खत्म होती जा रही है । चाहे हिंसा हो, चाहे माल लूटने से संबंधित हो, चाहे हत्या हो, ये चीजें हमारी जिन्दगी का एक हिस्सा बन गई हैं । आज हमारे दिल उस तरह से नहीं धड़कते जिस तरह से आज से 50 साल पहले हमारे देशवासियों के दिल धड़का करते थे।

श्रीमन्, जहां तक इलेक्ट्रॉनिक मीडिया का सवाल है, हमारे देश में मीडिया का रोल भी देखना होगा । हमारे यहां जब सांप्रदायिक दंगे होते हैं तो हमारे अखबार इन सांप्रदायिक दंगों को बढ़ा चढ़ाकर पेश करते हैं । हम आज इलेक्ट्रॉनिक युग में रह रहे हैं । आज हम टी०वी० और

वीडियो के जरिए से यूज बुलेटिन देख रहे हैं। उनमें केवल एक पक्ष जिसमें खून बहे आज हम उन अखबारों को अच्छा समझते हैं। हम उन अखबारों को पढ़ते हैं जिनमें आतंकवाद हो, हिंसा हो। आज हम शान्ति की खबरों पर, परंपराओं की खबरों प , संस्कृति की खबरों पर तवज्जह नहीं देते हैं। इसलिए इलेक्ट्रॉनिक मीडिया की तरफ भी हमें ध्यान देना होगा। क्या वे हमारी इन समस्याओं का समाधान भी पेश करने की कोशिश करते हैं? मुझे याद है कि अभी चुनावों से पहले एक बुलेटिन आया था, एक डाक्युमेंटरी आई थी टी० वी० पर कि किस प्रकार से बूथ कैप्चरिंग होती है, किस प्रकार से बोगस वोट डाले जाते हैं, किस प्रकार से असामाजिक तत्वों को पैसा देकर एंगेज किया जाता है इन सब कामों के लिए। लेकिन उसके साथ-साथ इन समस्याओं का विकल्प क्या हो, किस तरह से जनता उनके खिलाफ खड़ी हो, किस तरह से उन अपराधों को रोकने का प्रयास करे, किस प्रकार से हिंसक तत्वों को बूथ कैप्चरिंग करने से रोके, इस पर कोई भी ऐसी बात पेश करने की कोशिश नहीं की गई।

जिसने तस्वीर की एक साइड उतर कर न आए। साम्प्रदायिक दंगो में न जाने कितने ऐसे लोग हैं जो मारे जाते हैं, न जाने ऐसे कितने लोग हैं जो दूसरो को मारते हैं लेकिन न जाने कितने ऐसे लोग हैं जो धर्म और जाति की दीवार से ऊंचे उठ कर अपनी जान को खतरे में डालकर भारत के नागरिकों को बचाते हैं। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि हम उस पक्ष को ज्यादा लोगों के सामने, देश के सामने लाने की कोशिश करें।

आज टी०वी० के संतुलन में, मीडिया के संतुलन में जरा सा इम्बैलेंस दिखाई दे रहा है। हमें आशा है उस ओर सरकार ध्यान देगी और वे लोग भी ध्यान देंगे जो किसी न किसी तरह से इससे जुड़े हुए हैं।

माननीय, मैं कुछ समय और लेकर अपनी बात समाप्त करूंगा। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि आज इस देश के अंदर हमारे अल्प संख्यकों की बहुत सारी प्रोब्लम्स हैं। पिछली सरकार ने भी 15 सूत्री कार्यक्रम अकलियतों की भलाई के लिए बनाया था। जब इंदिरा जी जिंदा थीं तब भी कोशिश की थी उन्होंने और राजीव जो जिंदा थे उन्होंने भी कोशिश की थी और हमें आशा है, विश्वास है कि नरसिंह राव जी जो प्रधान मंत्री हैं उनकी तरफ से वही प्रयास होगा। लेकिन बड़े दुख के साथ कहना पड़ रहा है कि जो एक विष का इंजेक्शन साम्प्रदायिकता का है वह केवल एक सीमा तक ही नहीं है बल्कि वह आज हमारे नौकरशाही के अंदर भी है, कहीं-कहीं जुडिशियरी के अंदर भी है, लोकल कोर्ट्स में भी है, हमारे विधायकों के अंदर है हमारे बाजारों के अंदर है, हमारे कारखानों के अंदर हैं जिसके कारणवश किसी वर्ग के लिए चाहे वह पिछड़ा वर्ग हो, दलित वर्ग हो कमजोर वर्ग हो, जो भी कार्यक्रम आप बनायेंगे वह उन तक नहीं पहुंच पाएगा, यदि कार्यान्वित करने वालो का मस्तिष्क साम्प्रदायिकता के जहर से प्रभावित है। इस लिए इस बात की जरूरत है कि हम एक ऐसी प्रणाली लाने की कोशिश करें कि जो कुछ हम दूसरों के लिए कर रहे हैं वह उन तक पहुंच सके और जो ब्यूरोक्रेसी में, नौकरशाही में इस प्रकार के साम्प्रदायिक तत्व है उन पर किसी न किसी प्रकार से चैक करने की कोशिश करें। इन सब का नुकसान क्या होता है? आज बहुत सारे नाम, सो-कालड मुस्लिम लीडर्स यह सवालात करते हैं कि तुम्हारे साथ क्या हुआ? तुम क्यों उस पार्टी के साथ जा रहे हो, तुम क्यों उस पार्टी के साथ खड़े हो। उनको गुमराह करने की कोशिश की जाती है। हिंसा का मुकाबला हिंसा के जरिए उनसे कराने की कोशिश की जाती है। मैं आगमेंट सेक के लिए कहता हूं कि हमारे माइनोरिटीज के बहुत सारे लोग कहते हैं कि उत्तर प्रदेश में पी०ए०सी० का रोल अच्छा नहीं है। हो सकता है अच्छा न हो लेकिन यह बात कहां तक जायज है कि हम अपने लोगों को इस बात के लिए तैयार करें

[श्री सैयद सिब्तेरजी]

कि आपके गली कूंचे में पी० ए० सी० आती है तो आप उसका मुकाबला हिंसा से करें। क्या यह संभव हो पाएगा किसी देश के अंदर ? आज हमारी पी०ए०सी० के अंदर चाहे गलत तत्व ही क्यों न हो लेकिन जो हथियार बंद हैं, जिसके पास सत्ता की शक्ति है, जिसके पास बंदूकें हैं, जिसके पास किसी को पकड़ने का अधिकार हैं सुने तो आप उनसे किस प्रकार से निहत्थे लोगों से टकराने की बात करते हैं। निश्चितरूप से यह बहकावे में डालने वाली बात है। मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि पी०ए०सी० को मारकर आप भले ही खुश हो सकते हैं लेकिन पी०ए०सी० चली जाएगी तो मिलिट्री आ जाएगी, बी०एस०एफ० आ जाएगी। आज इस तरह का सिगनल देना हैं कि अकलियतों की बहबूदी के लिए, उनकी भलाई के लिए, उनके इंटरेस्ट के लिए सरकारी मशीनरी से टकराने की कोशिश न करें। साम्प्रदायिकता एक राजनीतिक हथियार है। अगर उस राजनीतिक हथियार का मुकाबला राजनीतिक हथियार के जरिए नहीं किया गया तो निश्चय ही मुकाबला करने वाले का हाल ऐसी ही होगी जैसे किसी निहत्थे की गरदन तलवार से काट दी जाए। । मुझे कहना यह पड रहा है, कि यदि साम्प्रदायिकता इसी तरह से बढती गई हो वह हमारे कारखानो तक पहुंच जाएगी, हमारे खेतो में पहुंच जाएगी हमारे खलिहानो में पहुच जाएगी आज चुनौती है उन तमाम लोगो की जो कहते हैं हम चाहें बाजू से ताल्लुक रखते हैं, हम मजदूरो के हितैषी हैं, हम कहते हैं कि मजदूरो को उनका हक मिलना चाहिए। लेकिन साम्प्रदायिकता के अधार पर यदि मजदूरों के हित के लिए कोई आन्दोलन चलता है और कोई बीच में पहुंच कर यह कहता हैं तुम्हारा नेता दारासिंह है इसलिए तुम्हें हिन्दुओ के साथ नहीं जाना चाहिए, और अगर हिन्दू यह बात उठाने हैं तो मुसलमानो को उनका साथ नहीं देना चाहिए। ट्रेड यूनियन के अंदर, मजदूर आन्दोलन के अन्दर अगर हम क्रिश्चियन हो जाय, सिख हो जाय, मुसलमान हो जाय, हिन्दू हो जाय या पिछड़ी जाति के बन जाय, स्वर्ण जाति के बन जाय, तो निश्चित रूप से पूंजीवादी अवस्था को फायदा पहुंचेगा और हमारी जो मौलिक जिम्मेदारियां हैं, हमारी जो मांगे हैं, वे किसी सूरत में भी पूरी नही होगी। इसलिए यह जो खुदकशी का रास्ता कुछ लोग दिखाने की कोशिश करते है में उसकी पूर्ण रूप से भर्त्सना करता हूं।

मान्यवर, बाबरी मस्जिद का मामला उभर कर सामने आया। बाबरी मस्जिद एक्शन कमेटी ने आज तक कोई भी सेल्यूशन लाने का प्रयास नेकनियती से नहीं किया जिससे इस भयंकर समस्या को हल किया जा सके। बल्कि कभी लोग मार्च की बात कही गई, मुसलमानों से अयोध्या पहुंचने की बात कही गई। कभी कहा गया कि लोकतंत्र के अंदर एक नया तरीका है कि गणंत्रण दिवस का बायकाट किया जाय। किसी ने आदम सेना बनाने की बात कही। किसी ने कहा कि देश के अंदर अल्पसंख्यकों को खतरा हैं, हमें सेना पर विश्वास नहीं है, इसलिए यूनाइटेड नेशन्स की एजेंसी आकर हमें प्रोटेक्ट करे। इस प्रकार की बातें करना हमारे लोकतंत्र हमारे मैनस्ट्रीम और प्रवाह जिसको पिछले 40-45 सालों से न जाने कितनी परबानियां देकर हमने इस लोकतंत्र के ढांचे को खडा किया है उसको कमजोर करने की कोशिश है।

इसके साथ साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं, मैं अब ज्यादा समय नहीं

लूंगा, मैं याद आता है, अयोध्या काण्ड से पहले हमने एक आवाज सुनी थी, एक नारा सुना था जो देश के अन्दर एक वर्ग के लोग लगा रहे थे और कह रहे थे कि मंदिर वहीं बनायेंगे मंदिर वहीं बनायेंगे, सौगन्ध राम की खाते है। चुनाव हुए देश के लोगों ने वोट दिए एक नई सरकार बनी। वह सरकार जिसने संविधान की उद्देशिका का पूर्ण रूप से अध्ययन किया था, जिसकी पार्टी ने सैन्ट्रल इलैक्शन कमीशन के सामने एक दस्तावेज जमानत की सूरत में दाखिल किया और वायदा किया कि हम इस देश की धर्मनिरपेक्षता में, कांस्टिट्यूशन की गरिमा और मर्यादा में रहकर पूरी आचार संहिता का पालन करेंगे जो चुनावों के लिए निर्धारित की गई है। यदि आप इजाजत दें तो मैं यहां पर भारत के संविधान की उद्देशिका को प्रस्तुत करना चाहूंगा जिसमें कहा गया है कि हम भारत के लोग, भारत को एक संपूर्ण प्रभुत्व सम्पन्न समाजवादी पंथ निरपेक्ष लोकतंत्रात्मक गणराज्य बनाने के लिए तथा उसके समस्त नागरिकों को सामाजिक, आर्थिक और राजनैतिक न्याय विचार अभिव्यक्ति विश्वास, धर्म और उपासना की स्वतंत्रता, प्रतिष्ठा और अवसर की समता प्राप्त कराने के लिए तथा उन सब में व्यक्ति की गरिमा और राष्ट्र की एकता और अखण्डता सुनिश्चित करने वाली बंधुता बढाने के लिए दृढसंकल्प होकर अपनी इस संविधान सभा में आज तारीख 26 नवम्बर, 1949 को एतद्द्वारा इस संविधान को अंगीकृत, अधिनियमित और आत्मार्पित करते हैं। इस उद्देशिका के पिछले चुनावों में एक विशेष पार्टी ने क्या काम नहीं किया है ? क्या आचार संहिता का उल्लंघन नहीं किया है ? क्या विश्व हिन्द परिषद् ने और दूसरे दल ने एक जाति और एक धर्म की बात नहीं की है। ये दूसरे के हित की बात नहीं करते हैं। क्या ऐसे पोस्टर जो देश के अल्पसंख्यकों के खिलाफ हैं दूसरे आर्गनाइजेशन्स के जरिए नहीं छापे गए हैं ? क्या साधुओं और संतों का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हुए किसी अहिंसा का जो एक सम्प्रदाय के खिलाफ आग उगलती हैं प्रयोग नहीं किया गया है ? इसके साथ साथ यह भी कहा गया है कि हम कंस्ट्रीक्टिव सेकूलेरिजम में विश्वास करते हैं, हम सकारात्मक धर्मनिरपेक्षता में विश्वास करते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि यह कैसी सकारात्मक धर्मनिरपेक्षता है ? क्या सही सकारात्मक धर्मनिरपेक्षता है जब एक प्रदेश की जनता का विश्वास प्राप्त करने के बाद प्रदेश का मुख्य मंत्री संविधान की सौगंध खाता है और उद्देशिका के बारे में वायदा करता है तो उसके तुरन्त बाद उस विवादास्पद स्थल पर जा कर कहता है कि सौगन्ध राम की खाते हैं, मंदिर वहीं बनाएंगे, यह नारा दिया जाता है।

निश्चितरूप से मैं कोई कानूनी बहस नहीं कर रहा हूं। किसी ने कहा है कि अंदर इंडियन कांस्टिट्यूशन दज दि पैराडाइज आफ दि लायर्स। इसके बारे में मैं कोई बहस नहीं करना चाहता हूं। लेकिन मैं बहस कर रहा हूं, बात रख रहा हूं जजबात की, बिल की, मंशा की। मंशा साफ नजर आती है कि सत्ता में आने के बाद शायद यह पार्टी यह समझ रही हैं कि उनको इसलिये मिला है कि इस देश के अंदर वे एक मजहब, एक धर्म का राज कायम कर दें। लेकिन जनादेश उनको इसके लिये नहीं मिला। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जिन लोगों ने वोट दिया है, हमारे हिन्दू भाइयों ने, मैं उसका स्वागत करता हूं। लोकतंत्र के अंदर किसी भी पार्टी को वोट देने का अधिकार हमारे मतदाताओं को मिला हुआ है। लेकिन ये समझते हैं कि अगर अल्पमत के हिन्दुओं ने अगर उनको वोट दिया है तो तमाम पूरे देश के हिन्दुओं ने उनको मैंडेट दिया है। ऐसा संभव नहीं है। क्योंकि यदि ऐसा होता तो हिमाचल प्रदेश के अंदर वही स्थिति होती जो उत्तर प्रदेश में हुई। यदि ऐसा होता तो राजस्थान में ऐसी स्थिति होती जो उत्तर प्रदेश में हुई। यदि ऐसा होता तो मध्यप्रदेश में ऐसी ही स्थिति होती जो उत्तर प्रदेश में हुई है। मान्यवर, धर्मनिरपेक्षता हमारे जीवन में एक मूल्य के रूप में स्वीकारी जा चुकी है, वह देश का हिस्सा बन चुकी

[श्री सैयद सिब्ते रजी]

है । वोट की राजनीति में मैं उस पार्टी के सदस्यों से यह अनुरोध करना चाहूंगा कि देश मुश्किल से गुजर रहा है, वे देश को जोड़ने का प्रयास करें, देश को तोड़ने का प्रयास न करें । निश्चितरूप से धर्मनिरपेक्षता का जो संकल्प हमने लिया है, जो उसका मतलब हमने समझा है वह यही है कि राज्य का कोई धर्म नहीं होगा । लेकिन इसका यह भी मतलब नहीं है कि राज्य सब अधर्मी हो । हमें याद आता है सेकुलरिज्म का वह शब्द जो डिक्शनरी में आया । इंग्लैंड में चर्च और सत्ता के बीच में संघर्ष हुआ । वहां पर चर्च जो है वह राज सत्ता के अंदर दखलांदाजी करते रहते हैं । अंततोगत्वा यह फैसला किया गया कि चर्च जो है वह राजकाज के मामलात में इंटरवीन नहीं करेंगे और तब यह सेकुलरिज्म शब्द उभरकर सामने आया । हमारे यहां इसका मतलब थोड़ा सा दूसरा है । लेकिन मुख्य धारा इसकी यही है कि हम सारे धर्मों का आदर करेंगे, हम सवधर्म समभाव के रास्ते पर चलेंगे । आज मैं सवाल करना चाहता हूं कि क्या हम राजनीति का आधार निर्मलता रखना चाहते हैं, क्या हम राजनीति का आधार खून खराबा रखना चाहते हैं, क्या इसका आधार हम अग्नि रखना चाहते हैं और अग्नि कांड कराना चाहते हैं या राजनीति का आधार हम वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम रखना चाहते हैं, सत्यम शिवम सुन्दरम रखना चाहते हैं । राजनीति का आधार सब को मिलाकर देश को बढ़ाने का रखना चाहते हैं या देश के लोगों को काटकर, देश को तोड़कर रखना चाहते हैं ? भारतीय जनता पार्टी के बंधुओं को विशेषकर इसके ऊपर विचार करना चाहिये । . . (*समय की घंटी*) . .

मैं पांच मिनट और लूंगा, यह मैं आपसे रेक्वेस्ट करूंगा ।

विशेषकर यह जो कभी कभी धार्मिक तनाव हमारे देश में पैदा होता है इसको अगर केलकुलेट किया जाय तो न जाने कितने घर उजड़े हैं, न जाने कितने लोग स्वर्गवासी हुए हैं, न जाने कितनी महिलायें सेवा हुई हैं । लेकिन इसी के साथ साथ न जाने हमारी कितनी जायजाद, कितनी प्रापर्टी, यह मैं किसी वर्ग विशेष की बात नहीं कर रहा हूं, लेकिन निश्चित रूप से इसमें माइनारिटी के ज्यादा नुकसान होता है, जब रायटस होते हैं, यह एक माना हुआ फैक्ट है, इससे कोई इंकार नहीं कर सकता है । एक भारतीय नागरिक के रूप में खड़े होकर आप इस नुकसान का जायजा लें । करोड़ों करोड़ और अरबों रुपये का नुकसान हमारे इस गरीब देश को हो चुका है । आप अपने पैरों पर खड़े होना चाहते हैं, आत्म निर्भर बनना चाहते हैं ऐसी हालत में क्या यह संभव है ? हमारे राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने 15 अगस्त, 1947 को एक ऐसी रेखा बनाने की सदघोषणा की थी कि सारे मंदिर, मस्जिद, गिरजे और गुरुद्वारे, किसी भी व्यक्ति, चाहे वह, छोटे से छोटे सम्प्रदाय का क्यों न हो उसकी इबादतगाह उसी सूरत में बनी रहेगी कुछ मामलात जो कोर्ट में हैं उनको छोड़कर । मंदिर के बारे में, बाबरी मस्जिद के बारे में । लेकिन यह किस तरह की प्रतिक्रिया आई है ? मुझे बताया गया है, जैसा आप मुझे निर्देश करेंगे किया दूसरे सदन के अंदर जो चर्चा हुई है उसका तसकरा यहां न करें, लेकिन संदर्भ के लिये मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि जबर्दस्त प्रतिक्रिया भारतीय जनता पार्टी के लोगों ने की है और कहा है कि यदि इस प्रकार का संशोधन आयेगा तो फिर खून खराबा होगा ।

फिर गोलियां चलाएंगे, फिर खंजर इस्तेमाल किये जाएंग फिर मासूम लोगों को मारा जाएगा और फिर देश को आग के सामने झोंका जाएगा । मैं अनुरोध करना चाहूंगा देश के अन्दर सौहार्द की आवश्यकता है, एकता की आवश्यकता है, देश को आगे बढ़ाना है । यदि हम किसी भी प्रकार का फैसला कर लें लेकिन उसके साथ देश की तमाम पार्टियों के लोग, तमाम वह लोग जो देश के चुने हुए लोग हैं यदि वह साथ नहीं आते तो निश्चित रूप से उनका क्रियान्वयन पूर्ण रूप से सम्भव नहीं हो पाएगा । इसलिए मुझे

उम्मीद है कि हर पार्टी वोट की राजनीति को छोड़ कर देश को बचाने की कोशिश करेगी । मैं इन शब्दों के साथ केवल इतना और कहना चाहूंगा कि अभी अभी माले में दक्षेस का सम्मेलन हुआ जहां पर सार्क के विदेश मंत्री जमा हुए । लेकिन ऐसा लगता है कि दक्षेस का जो सपना है वह काफी दिनों तक सपना ही रहेगा । क्योंकि जितने भी हमारे दक्षेस के सदस्य हैं उनमें अन्तर्विरोध आपस में सर्टेन इश्यूज पर इतना है कि यदि यह कहा जाए तो गलत नहीं होगा कि वे आपस में एक प्लेटफार्म पर बैठ ही जाते हैं यह भी अपने आप में एक उपलब्धि है । मुझे खुशी है कि दो कनवेंशन बनाए हैं माले के अन्दर विदेश मंत्रियों ने जिसमें एक का ताल्लुक आतंकवाद से है और दूसरा नशीली दवाओं की सप्लाई से संबंधित है । सारी दुनिया में आर्थिक संकट छाया हुआ है । सोवियत रूस अपनी प्रणाली बदल रहा है । सारी दुनिया की आर्थिक व्यवस्था एक देश विशेष के हाथों में पहुंचती चली जा रही है । ऐसी सूरत में यदि तीसरी दुनिया के देश और विशेष तौर पर हमारे सार्क के सात देशों ने आपस में आर्थिक आदान-प्रदान की रणनीति तैयार नहीं की तो इससे बहुत बड़ी हानि हो सकती है । लेकिन यह दो कनवेंशन बने हैं जो आतंकवाद से संबंधित हैं विशेष तौर पर इसमें यदि पाकिस्तान ने अपना पूरा रोल अदा नहीं किया मुझे अभी नहीं मालूम शायद माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी इसका जवाब देंगे यह जो दो कनवेंशन हैं इन पर पाकिस्तान ने अप्रूवल नहीं दिया है और न भारत ने अप्रूवल दिया है हमारा क्या स्टैंड है इन कनवेंशन के सिलसिले में । लेकिन जब तक पाकिस्तान हमारे देश के अन्दर आतंकवादी गतिविधियों की पुश्तपनाही करता रहेगा इन कनवेंशनों का कोई मतलब नहीं होगा । आज पंजाब के अन्दर क्या हो रहा है, सब जानते हैं पाकिस्तान की शरारत की वजह से ही रहा है । आज जम्मू-कश्मीर में क्या हो रहा है, सब जानते हैं पाकिस्तान की शरारत की वजह से हो रहा है । दोनों देशों के बीच में कुछ न कुछ समस्यायें हो सकती हैं लेकिन शिमला समझौते के तहत भारत और पाकिस्तान के बीच में जो समस्याएं हैं उनका निवारण करने के लिए हमने प्रावधान किया है । यदि सार्क के यह दो बड़े देश आत्मविश्वास और दोस्ती के रास्ते पर नहीं चलेंगे तो सार्क का कोई भी मकसद पूर्ण रूप से एचीव नहीं हो पाएगा । दक्षिण अफ्रीका में नयी शुरूआत हुई है, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्थिति का तस्करा महामहिम ने किया है । अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय खेलों के अन्दर दक्षिण अफ्रीका की क्रिकेट टीम आ रही है लेकिन यह कोई संतोष और संतुष्टि की बात नहीं मान लेनी चाहिये । इम्पीरियलिज्म का एजेंट अभी भी साउथ अफ्रीका बना हुआ है । मैं स्वागत करूंगा जी० क्लार्क साहब के कुछ इकदामात का जिसमें नेल्सन मंडेला को छोड़े जाने की बात है लेकिन साउथ अफ्रीका उसी तरह काम कर रहा है जिस तरह से मिडल ईस्ट के अन्दर इजरायल काम कर रहा है । साउथ अफ्रीका के पास आणविक अस्त्र-शस्त्र हैं । उनके पास भी एटम बम बनाने की पूर्ण क्षमता है । हो सकता है उन्होंने बना भी लिया हो लेकिन इराक के अन्दर जितने भी एटम बम या न्युक्लियर आर्मामेंट के केन्द्र हैं उनकी लिस्ट अमरीका मांग रहा है लेकिन न तो इजरायल की तरफ तवज्जह दी जाती है और न साउथ अफ्रीका की तरफ तवज्जह दी जाती है । इस प्रकार दक्षिण देशों के हितों का केन्द्र साउथ अफ्रीका बन चुका है और भारत को इस सिलसिले में पूर्ण रूप से संतुलन बनाने का प्रयास करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये । मैं इन शब्दों के साथ आखिर में माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी की उस उदघोषणा का जो उन्होंने अभी 8 जुलाई को आल इंडिया रेडियो और टी० वी० से की है उसका स्वागत करता हूं । उन्होंने बड़े जोरदार तरीके से कहा है कि जरूरत की चीजों के जो दाम हैं उनको पूर्ण रूप से बढ़ने से रोकने की कोशिश की जाएगी, उन पर कंट्रोल लगाया जाएगा तथा उनकी आपूर्ति भी किसी प्रकार से कम नहीं होने दी जाएगी और सरकार अपने खर्चों में कटौती करेगी । निश्चित रूप से जब तक सरकार अपने खर्चों में कटौती नहीं करेगी यह जो काले धन का मामला है यह निश्चित रूप से खर्चों से भी जुड़ा हुआ है उस पर भी अच्छा प्रभाव पड़ेगा ।

[श्री सैयद सिब्ते रज़ी]

निश्चित रूप से 18 महीनों में जो आर्थिक व्यवस्था खराब हुई है, उसमें नयी शुरूआत हुई है । मुझे उम्मीद है कि बैलेंस आफ पेमेंट की क्राइसिस से हम बाहर निकलेंगे और जो हमारे प्रवासी भारतीय है वे पुनः हमें रेमिटेंस भेजना शुरू करेंगे जो उन्होंने किसी कारणवश रोक रखे थे । मुझे आशा है कि मुद्रा कोष जो बुरी तरह से खाली है वह फिर भरेगा । डीजल, मिट्टी के तेल, खाने के तेल, फर्टिलाइजर इत्यादि का आयात मुनासिब जगहों से होगा और हम अपने देश की जो जनता है, उनकी जो जरूरतें हैं उनको किसी प्रकार से प्रभावित नहीं होने देंगे ।

मैं आखिर में कहना चाहूंगा कि प्रलय मचाने वाली ताकतों को निश्चित रूप से निराशा हुई है । कांग्रेस ने जिस प्रकार से अपना प्रधान मंत्री चुना और जिस प्रकार से अपनी योजनाओं को बनाया है उसमें आर्थिक क्रांति की धीमी धीमी आहट हमारे कानों को सुनाई दे रही है । हमें आशा है कि वह क्रांति सबके लिए यूजफुल होगी, उपयोगी होगी और हमारे देश के गरीबों के लिए सर्वहारा वर्ग के लिए निश्चित रूप से हम यह कहना चाहेंगे कि कांग्रेस पार्टी वक्त के तकाजों को पूरा करेगी और अपने उस इतिहास को नहीं भूलेगी जो उसका कुर्बानियों का और बलिदानों का इतिहास रहा है । हम सबको मिलकर अपने नेता के हाथों को मजबूत बनाना है । मैं यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि इसमें सिर्फ कांग्रेस पार्टी के मेम्बरान की बात नहीं आती, दूसरी समस्त पार्टियों का आवाहन राष्ट्रपति जी ने किया है । मुझे आशा है कि राष्ट्रीय मुद्दों के ऊपर हम पार्टी के स्तर से ऊंचे उठेंगे, देश की समस्याओं का समाधान करेंगे; देश को नयी दिशा देंगे और भारत के लोकतंत्र को मजबूत बनाएंगे।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूं कि आपने मुझे इस प्रस्ताव का अनुमोदन करने का मौका दिया और खास तौर से 2-4 मिनट ज्यादा दिये इसके लिए मैं विशेष रूप से आपका अनुग्रहीत हूं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): The Motion has been moved and seconded.

We have several amendments now; there are 394 amendments to the Motion which will be moved only. Amendments No. 1 to 20 are by Shri Aurora and Shri Ram Jethmalani. They are absent. Amendments No. 21 to 31 are by Shri Ranjit Singh.

SHRI RANJIT SINGH (Haryana): Sir I move:

21. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps Government propose to take to reduce the prices of essential commodities and provide relief to the common man in a definite time frame."

22. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any effcetive scheme for ending increasing burden of foreign debt on the country."

23. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—
"but regret that the Address does not mention about Government's intention to implement any action plan on priority basis for putting to an end the inbalances in the development of the country."

24. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—
"but regret that the Address does not mention about implementation of any concrete scheme for providing literacy to all the citizens in the country."

25. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—
"but regret that the Address does not mention about taking determined and effective steps for ending increasing unemploy-

ment amongst the youth in the country."

26. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:— "but regret that the Address does not mention about implementation of any special action plan for raising the standard of living of landless labourers and marginal farmers."

27. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:— "but regret that the Address does not refer to any concrete scheme for providing water to every field in the country within a definite time frame."

28. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:— "but regret that the Address does not mention about necessary steps Government propose to take immediately to put an end to the increasing tendency of criminalisation of politics."

29. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:— "but regret that the Address does not mention about any scheme for linking every village with the nearby main roads in a definite time frame of rural development of the country."

30. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:— "but regret that the Address does not mention about the effective steps Government propose to take to end the prevalent corruption and dereliction of duty in the administration so as to make it efficient and effective."

31. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:— "but regret that the Address does not mention about setting up of training centres in rural areas for promoting cottage industries and providing necessary economic assistance to the trainees for the purpose."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): (Amendments No. 32 to 41 are by Dr. J.K. Jain. He is not present. Amendments No. 42 to 45 are by Dr. Nagen Saikia. He is also not present. Then amendments No. 46 to 51 are by Shri Gurupadaswamy and others.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I draw your attention...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): You have just to move.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I gave amendments No. 46 and that has been changed. It is not the same as I gave.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): So you are not moving.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: My amendment has been amended by the office.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): I understand that your amendment to the extent that it refers to the Chief Election Commissioner, can be taken up only through a substantive motion rather than through an amendment. That is the technical problem.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Otherwise, this, as it is, is misleading.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): For technical reasons...

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: My point is, if you remove the role of the Election Commissioner, and if I move this amendment as is given here, it conveys a different meaning.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): So, you don't move.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I am drawing the attention of the Chairman; I am seeking a clarification. It will change the meaning.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): The form in which you have submitted the amendment refers to the Chief Election Commissioner which requires a substantive motion rather than simply an amendment.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: If that amendment has been amended?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Then, don't move the amendment.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: My purpose was to move it in a different form. This gives a wrong meaning. That is the problem.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Then, you don't move that amendment.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I am in your hands... (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHADRESH P. THAKUR): He is a senior speaker. He is capable of defending himself. Why are you providing the crutch to him when he does not need it? आप फिर वही कर रहे हैं। उन को बोलने दीजिए ना।... (व्यवधान)

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय (बिहार): वह आदत से लाचार हैं, उपसभाध्यक्षजी।... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): What I understand is that by changing the words, the substance will remain. So, if you want to move in the form in which it appears on the Agenda paper, you are welcome to do it.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: If you read this amendment. It will convey a different meaning. It was not my intention at all. Therefore, I do not move it. But, I want to draw the attention of the Chair that if it had been referred to me and discussed with me before amending this, perhaps I would have given a different amendment.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): I think that the position is very clear now. The language in which it has appeared on the Agenda paper is a modified version of your initial amendment. The original version is technically not possible, because, it refers to the Chief Election Commissioner for which a substantive motion has to be brought in. If you are not happy with the form in which it has appeared, particularly, even if it is referring in substance to that, I accept the point that you would not like to move this amendment. But, I agree—I have to draw the attention of the Secretariat—that if the language had to be modified, then a reference should have been made to you. The matter ends there.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): I want to say something.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): I am sorry. It will not go on record. That point is over. That is a technical point. If you want to bring the discussion about the Chief Election Commissioner on the agenda, you are well within your right. You can do it through a substantive motion. Why do you take this opportunity to raise the point which has already been sorted out?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I would have given a different version altogether if it had been brought to my notice.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): That point is over. Let us not repeat that.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I do not move that amendment. I move the rest of the amendments.

*Not recorded.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Rule 16 of the Rules of Procedure says,

"Amendments may be moved to such Motion of Thanks in such form as may be considered appropriate by the Chairman". Still, your point is well taken that the reference should have been made to you that the language in which you had submitted is not acceptable for XY reason. That point is well taken. अब बात को आगे बढ़ाने की जरूरत नहीं है।

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: You have not asked me to move the rest of the amendments.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Yes, you move the rest of the amendments.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I beg to move—

47. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—
"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the labour participation in management."

48. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—
"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Centre-State relations and implementation of the Sarkaria Commission's recommendations."

49. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any programme for the prevention of child labour in the country."

50. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—
"but regret that the Address does not mention about ending of disparities existing in the distribution of income."

51. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—
"but regret that the Address does not mention about any time bound progamme for catering to the minimum needs of the people."

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: I beg to move:

52. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—
"but regret that the Address does not mention about Government's determination to provide SPG protection to the family of former Prime Minister Late Shri Rajiv Gandhi consisting of his widow, daughter and son by suitably amending the Special Protection Group Act, 1988."

53. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—
"but regret that the Address does not give an assurance to appoint a Judicial Commission headed by a sitting Supreme Court Judge to inquire into large scale malpractices during polling and in counting of votes in the State of Bihar preceded by large scale rigging, booth capturing, intimidation, bogus voting and killing and injuring the voters at the behest of the Chief Minister of the State."

54. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not give an assurance that the Government shall constitute a Judicial Commission headed by a sitting Supreme Court Judge to inquire into the communal riots allegedly perpetuated by a national political party with communal background which erupted in the Districts of Meerut, Bulandshahar, Kanpur, Varanasi and other places in the State of U.P. on 20th May, 1991 the first day of recent Lok Sabha and Assembly elections resulting in the death of hundreds of innocent persons be-

[Shri S. S.. Ahluwalia]

longing to the minority communities in these disturbances."

55. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to give an assurance to the electorate of the country that Government is determined to stop criminalisation of elections in the country on war footings as the criminalisation of elections had resulted in a very low turnout of voters in the recent Lok Sabha and Assembly elections."

56. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to spell out Government's determination to stop mixing religion with politics and division of the country on caste and communal lines."

57. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to assure that the Government will review all the decisions taken by the caretaker Government between March and June, 1991 in respect of all Industrial and Commercial Licences granted by it and also the large scale out of turn allotment of LPG connections, Kerosene depots, Petrol pumps, Telephone connections distress sale of gold etc. made by the caretaker Government which has lowered the image of the Government in the country and abroad."

58. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to assure that the Government will review all the political and other appointments in the Government and various public institutions particularly positions abroad made by the caretaker Government and rectify the favouritism, if any, indulged therein and cancel such appointments."

59. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to assure the nation that the Government will examine the working of the Election Commission with particular reference to its controversial decisions in the recent Lok Sabha and Assembly elections and take all necessary steps to reform the working of the Commission."

60. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to assure the people of the country that the strength of Judges in the Supreme Court and High Courts will be raised to the desired levels by suitably amending the existing laws in this regard to reduce the huge arrears of cases pending therein to provide timely justice to the people within a time frame."

61. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to spell out Government's desire to plant trees on both sides of all the railway lines throughout the country within a time frame."

62. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the growing sickness in Public Sector Banks due to corruption, nepotism, favouritism, mismanagement and frauds prevailing in

them and Government's will to deal with sickness in public sector banks very firmly within a time frame."

63. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about ever growing sickness in all the Mills of National Textile Corporation resulting in heavy losses to the exchequer and Government's desire to close all such Mills which are incurring losses for the last five years."

64. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about Government's desire to create an autonomous statutory Apex authority to monitor and supervise all the Public Sector undertakings and make it accountable to Parliament by bringing forward a legislation in this regard during the current session of Parliament."

65. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to give an assurance to wind up all the public sector enterprises which are consistently incuring losses and also not to takeover any sick industrial concern in future."

66. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to spell out the measures which are likely to be taken up by the Government to combat AIDs which is spreading in the country in a big way and likely to assume epidemic form in the country."

67. That is the end of the Motion the following be added namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the very poor service being rendered by the Government Hospitals. Dispensaries and Primary Health Centres to the hapless patients and growing apathy, misbehaviour and rudeness of the Hospital etc. Staff including that of Doctors and Nurses towards the patients followed by recycling of medicines meant for poor patients in the black market by the Hospitals etc. Staff and Governments desire to curb all these with firm hand provide desired relief to the hapless patients in the country."

68. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the un-hygenic conditions prevailing in all major hospitals in the country and Government desire to keep all the hospital clean and in hygenic conditions."

69. That at the end of the Motion the following be added namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the acute shortage of Hospitals and Health Centres in the country and Government desire to provide at least one big Hospital in each District of the country."

70. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about Government's intention to pay unemployment allowance to the unemployed youth in the country."

71. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not assure the unemployed youth

[Shri S. S. Ahluwalia]

of the country that the Government will abolish the age bar prescribed for Government Services in the country forthwith."

72. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of about the non-availability of po'able water in millions of villages in the country particularly in the State of Bihar, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, etc. where people are forced to use stagnated water of ponds drains etc. resulting inharmful diseases like gastroentities Hapatitis, cholera, worms and eyes and skin ailments and Governments commitment to provide potable water to every village and city of the country within a timeframe."

73. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the continuous exploitation of landless agricultural workers by their employers in the country and Governments desire to protect them from exploitation and bring forward a legislation for their welfare security and rehabilitation without further loss of time."

74. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Government's desire to reduce the workload of books, notebooks and homework of students particularly of the nursery and primary levels so that the tiny future citizens of the country could enjoy their childhood."

75. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not assure to make primary education compulsory for all the children in the country and provide penal provision for those who do not send their children to schools."

76. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about Government's desire to put a ban on educational shops which have come up everywhere in the country in one or two rooms sets, tents etc. in unhygenic conditions and which are fleecing the parents of their students and also the teachers working therein."

77. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not assure to make vocational education compulsory at the school and college levels in the country."

78. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not assure to enforce law on child marriages more strictly to curb the evil practice of child marriage which is still in vogue in various parts of the country particularly in Rajasthan."

79. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the exploitation of children of tender age in haphazard industries manufacturing carpets, beedis, bangles etc. and other trades such as Hotels, restaurants, small dhabas, tea shops and as domestic servants despite the constitutional provision contained in article and various laws res-

tricting child employment and Government's firm desire to stop such exploitation and rehabilitate such hapless children so that they may enjoy their child-hood."

80. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the reluctance of parents to send their daughters to school even for primary education particularly in rural areas and Government's determination to make it compulsory for the parents to send their daughters to school to make the SAARC decade of child a success in India."

81. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to assure the Nation that Reservation of jobs in Government services and seats in educational institutions shall be made exclusively on economic criteria and not on caste or communal lines."

82. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to assure that strict economy shall be maintained by the Government and to achieve the utmost economy and curtail wasteful expenditure in the Administration it will stop plying of almost all Government staff vehicles on holidays, stop giving extension to the employees, stop foreign tours by bureaucrats and reduce paperwork in all the Government offices throughout the country."

83. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to assure that "sports" will be made a Union Subject by amending the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution so that proper facilities could be provided to the sports persons so that country could find a place in the sports areana of the world."

84. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to assure that "Bhojpuri" and "Maithili" languages shall be included in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution."

85. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the severe backwardness of the State of Bihar despite being the richest in case of minerals and Governments assurance to raise the royalty on coal and other minerals to the tune of Twenty five per cent to the State with immediate effect."

86. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the State of Bihar has rich deposits of Uranium and the State Stands of good chance to generate atomic electricity in the State and Governments desire to establish a Bihar Atomic Authority in the State for the purpose to meet the acute shortage of Electricity in the State resulting in Industrial backwardness of the State."

87. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about Government's intention to establish an autonomous Bihar Flood Control Authority to control the floods in the State and also to generate hydro electricity therefrom as the floods have devastating effects on the State year after year resulting in heavy losses to the State."

88. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to assure the people of the State of Bihar that Government shall take every possibe step to remove the industrial backwardness of the State and give priority in establishing food processing Industries, Sugar Mills, Railway Coach/Wagon/Engine factories, Ordnance factory etc. in the State of Bihar."

89. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the depleted conditions of roads including highways in the country resulting in avoidable losses on the roads and Governments desire to provide better roads in the country."

90. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to assure that anti air, water pollution laws shall be enforced more strictly throughout the country to save the ecology from becoming poisonous."

91. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to spell out Government's intention to establish a petrochemical complex in the Barauni Oil Refinery in the State of Bihar."

92. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not assure to construct a railway bridge over river Ganga near Patna in the State of Bihar and also to give maximum financial assistance to the State to construct roads in the State."

93. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not assure that the farmers will get easy interest free loans from the banks on easiest terms without red tapism for agricultural purposes."

94. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not assure to formulate comprehensive crop insurance scheme for farmers and Governments desire to pay the premiums of poor farmers towards assurance of their crops."

95. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not assure to pay remunerative prices to the farmers for their produce and Governments desire to establish an autonomous Price Fixation Authority for agricultural produce instead of present Administrative committee working in the Government."

96. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not assure the migrant youths from the State of Bihar that they will get loans from Banks on easy terms for purchasing rickshaw or starting self employment and to save them from exploitation by the rickshaw owners and others in the country particularly in the capital of country."

97. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the plight of those Indians who had to return back to the coun

try from Kuwait in the wake of annexation of Kuwait by Iraq and who have virtually became refugees in their own country and Government's desire to discuss their rehabilitation plan with the Government of Kuwait through diplomatic channels without further loss of time."

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: I beg to move:

98. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the sinister timing of the henous crime by the assassins of the former Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi when two phases of election were still pending."

99. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the impropriety and illegality of the action of the Election Commission in postponing elections in Punjab and gives a less than objective statement regarding the circumstances leading to the postponement after the stoppage of campaign 48 hours before the end of voting upto which time killings had been going on but there was no postponement."

100. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address falls to hold out any hope of return to normal civilian rule in the States of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir through peoples mandate."

101. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the total sell out by Government to IMF and World Bank as also to multinationals through the devaluation of Rupees by about 20 per cent through two doses in close succession with an IMF team reaching India to witness what has euphemistically been called 'adjustment' in place of 'devaluation' and other collateral steps."

102. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address provides completely unrealistic benefit to the needy and poor in view of a total scheme of surrender to the IMF, World Bank and multinationals and by the resolve for structural changes which will transform India into what still remains for calling it a client state."

103. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the approach of disinvestmest in public sector really is at the behest of I.M.F. and like bodies which are out to bring Indian economy within their stranglehold."

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: I beg to move:

104. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for restructuring Centre —State relations."

105. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for effective implementation of Land Reforms."

[Shri Chaturanan Mishra]

106. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to constitute the National Commission on Women."

107. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the need to effect administrative reforms and decentralisation of power."

108. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the need for identifying chronic cyclone prone areas in the country and sanctioning special grants for these areas."

109. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to evolve special programmes for underdeveloped backward areas of the country."

110. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need to make efforts for finding out alternatives to manage the economy of the country with out going in for IMF loans."

111. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about Government's stand on the Workers' Participation in Management Bill."

112. That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the need to incorporate "Right to Work as a fundamental right in the Constitution."

113. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to take determined steps for the implementation of Minimum Wages Act for Agricultural workers."

114. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address *does not make a mention of* demands for including Nepali and Manipuri languages in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution."

115. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address need for a need-based minimum wage for low paid factory workers, toddy-tappers, weavers bidi and building workers and payment of dearness allowance to them to neutralise rise in prices, besides ensuring them social security against wage-freeze, lock-outs closures and lay-offs in factories."

116. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Adddess does not mention of any time does not mention about the need for introducing risk insurance scheme for journalists."

117. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Adddess does not mention anything about the situation of agitation in Bihar for the establishment of Jharkhand State."

118. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Adddess does not mention of any time

bound programme for BHANGI MUKTI and BANDHUA MUKTI."

119. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of any time bound programme to alleviate the poverty stricken belt of the country comprising of States like Bihar, Orissa and other Eastern States."

120. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of any time bound programme for solving problems of the most flood affected areas of the country like Bihar and Assam."

121. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of any time bound programme of National guaranteed employment or of constitutional guarantee for right to work."

122. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of a guarantee to cover all the people below poverty line under the public distribution system."

123. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of any National Programme of Old Age Pension for the old people living below poverty line."

124. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of any National Programme of Midday meal for Primary School children."

125. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of any time bound programme of supportive measures to uplift the marginal and small farmers."

126. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for a Central Legislation for the welfare of the agricultural workers."

127. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of any action plan for checking excess profiteering, large scale adulteration which causes large scale diseases, large scale tax evasion, smuggling and transfer of Indian wealth from India to foreign countries, perpetuated by private sector, due to which the country is facing a serious fiscal deficit."

128. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of acceptance of 27 per cent job reservation for the backward classes and 10 per cent for economically weaker sections which alone can fuse the present social tensions through which the country is passing."

129. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of any action plan for political mobilisation of all the secular forces to fight against the serious communal

[Shri Chaturanan Mishra]

tensions through and Kashmir problems."

130. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of any fresh initiative or any political mobilisation to solve Punjab and Kashmir problem."

131. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely: —

"but regret that the Address does not mention of the failure of Government to hold elections in Punjab which is causing immense damage to further the cause of democracy and national unity in that State."

132. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely: —

"but regret that the Address does not speak of US threat to use Super 301 Clause of their Trade Act and the ways to it."

133. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely: —

"but regret that the Address does not speak of the tremendous national financial loss due to devaluation of rupee."

134. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of the policy of self-reliance and the "sky limit" of US investment fixed by the Government which opens the way of destroying the Nehru model of industrialisation of India."

135. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of skyrocketing high prices caused by the policy of devaluation and continuous hike in administrative pices thereby giving free hand to the profiteers."

136. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not speak of any policy reforms in the absence of which the public sector is going sick and is not in a position to compete."

137. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of changing the standardised freight rate which is causing heavy loss to Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and such other States."

138. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not speak of decentralisation of power from the Centre to States and to the Panchayats which alone ran reduce the skyrocketing administrative cost."

139. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not speak of giving right to the States to charge sales tax on consignment trade."

140. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of corruption in high places and remedial action proposed to be taken."

141. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of establishing a National grid of river waters."

142. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the need for giving unemployment allowance to the jobless."

143. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of evolving a National Youth Policy."

144. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need fo giving protection to Urdu language and its promotion in States where sizeable number of people have Urdu as their mother-tongue."

145. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the need for effective reforms in the electoral system to eliminate money and muscle power and introducing proportional representation."

146. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the need for reactivating the National Integration Council by holding regular meeting and implementing its decisions under a time-bound schedule."

147. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the need to repeal all undemocratic statutes including ESMA and NSA and enlarging democratic and civil rights of the people."

148. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to reform the judicial system thereby ensuring speedy and inexpensive justice to the common people."

SHRI SHABBIR AHMAD SALARIA (Jammu and Kashmir): I beg to move:

149. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to note that both the Disturbed Areas Act and the Armed Forces Special Powers Act have proved counter productive in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the powers vested thereunder have been abused and does not contain any assurance to withdraw these Acts forthwith in view of the fact that the laws already in force in that State are quite sufficient to deal with the situation."

150. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the representation of Muslim minority in Government Services, especially All India Services, is negligible and does not indicate any assurance to undo this wrong."

151. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the urgent need to substantially amend the Waqf Act or to enact a new Waqf Act on the lines of the law applicable to the evacuee properties and the state properties so that the Waqf properties, which have gone

[Shri Shabbir Ahmed Salaria]

into un-authorised possession due to un-precedented large scale migration of beneficiaries following communal riots in the wake of partition, are not lost as a result of operation of Limitation Act and the restoration thereof to the Waqf Boards is expedited."

152. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention that the arrears due to the State of Jammu and Kashmir on account of non allocation of 90 per cent gant in Five Year Plans as a Special Category State from the year 1953 onwads upto 1991 need to be paid to the State immediately."

153. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the fact that in order to improve the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir it is necessary to change the present administrative set up and replace it by appointing experienced political persons as advisors to the Governor."

154. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the fact that in order to win the confidence of the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, it is necessary that those responsible for killings of mourners and for committing rapes should be tried and punished according to law."

155. That at the end if the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that all the affected persons in the State of Jammu and Kashmir whose properties have been destroyed or damaged in fires or whose relations have been killed or maimed in operations should be paid full compensation within a period of three months on the recommendations to be made by a committee consisting of nominees of political parties of the State and one nominee of the Government on the basis of consensus or majority opinion."

156. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention that in order to improve the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir it is necessary to take stern measures to ensure that there do not occur excesses of any kind whatsoever while reacting to attacks during searches and combing operations in that State because such excesses alienate the masses."

157. That at the end, of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to list the steps Government propose to take to entrust the job of maintaining law and order and running the civil administration at the Tehsil and District Levels to the Police and the Civil Administration of the State of Jammu and Kashmir which has at present been isolated and sidelined and send the armed forces and the para-military forces to the borders of the State for performing their legitimate job."

158. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to take note that the only way to improve the conditions in

Jammu and Kashmir is that the status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in the Union of India should be based on the Delhi Agreement of 1952 which was also placed before the Paliament of India."

159. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not express that a general amnesty will be proclaimed for all the persons who come forward and lay down their arms and undertake to abjure violence to usher in a new chapter of confidence building in the State of Jammu and Kashmir."

160. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that most of thousands of Kashmiri who have been detained for over one year are quite innocent and it is necessary that a Committee consisting of nominees of major political parties and a nominee of the Government should review their cases and those recommended by it be released within two months."

161. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that many Public Sector Enterprises have been running at heavy losses since long which is contributing to the present financial and economic crisis of the country and that there is an urgent need to devise ways and means-including considering privatisation of these Enterprises as an alternative—to save the economy from utter collapse."

162. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to take note that the there is an urgent need to recast the division of powers in the Constitution of India between the Centre and the States on the lines suggested by the Sarkaria Commission so as to grant greater autonomy to the States to bring about a truly federal structure and to save the country from disintegration."

SHRI RAJ MOHAN GANDHI (Uttar Pradesh): I beg to move:

163. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the reference to the problem of black money in the Address is casual and weak and that there is no reference to the problem of corruption."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Amendment Nos. 164 to 169. Shri Shankar Dayal Singh. He is not here. Amendment Nos. 170 to 172. Shri S. Madhavan. He is not here. Amendment Nos. 173 to 175. Shri Murasoli Maran. He is not here.

SHRI PASUMPON THA. KIRUTTINAN (Tamil Nadu): I beg to move:

176. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to state the relations between the Centre and the States will be reviewed and maximum autonomy will be given to the States so that they get enormous opportunities to determine their own future thereby making the federal structure of the Constitution a reality."

177. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Centre

[Shri Pasumpon Tha. Kiruttinan]

State relations and the implementation of the Sarkaria Commission's recommendations."

178. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any programme for the prevention of child labour in the country."

179. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to assure that special relaxation will be given to the export of easily available human labour of the country for earning foreign exchange, to enable the Government to improve the balance of payments situation."

180. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about any effective time bound action plan to bring an end to the burden of foreign debts on the country."

181. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about any immediate action to bridge the increasing imbalances in development of the country on priority basis."

182. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about implementation of a well determined and effective action plan to solve the problem of growing unemployment amongst the youth of the country."

183. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about any effective measures to bring down the prices particularly of consumer goods for providing relief to the common man."

184. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about any effective strategy in the light of latest researches and inventions being made in the agriculture sector for the immediate benefit of ordinary farmers."

185. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about implementation of any action plan for improving the living standards of innumerable agricultural labourers of the country through their economic development and by developing a sense of self-confidence, self-consciousness and self-dependency amongst them."

186. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about implementation of any time-bound programme to link every village with the main Road for the develoument of far flung rural areas."

187. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about setting up of health service centres in the far flung rural and backward regions of the country to provide easy and immediate medical facilities to people living there."

188. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any effective action plan to free All India Radio and Television from Government dominations."

189. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any consensus solution to put an end to the growing large scale violence and discontent in the country particularly in the States of Punjab, Jammu & Kashmir and Assam."

190. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention, about any time bound programme for catering to the minimum needs of the people."

191. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to assure that the Government will publish the interim order of the Cauvery Waters Tribunal in the official Gazette in accordance with section 6 of the Inter-State Water Disputes Act, 1956."

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): I beg to move:

192. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to condemn the cult of violence, booth capturing misuse of official machinery resorted to in the recent Lok Sabha elections in Bihar."

193. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the Government's intention to open dialogue with all the terrorist groups within the frame-work of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord and the Constitution to arrive at a peaceful solution of the Punjab problem."

194. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about Pakistan's role in aiding and abeting the terrorists and sessionists forces in Jammu and Kashmir thereby creating law and order problem in the state as reflected in the kidnapping and killing of officials and public by them."

195. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the activities of ULFA in Assam which is still raising its head and indulging in kidnapping and abduction of the people and officials and disturbing the peaceful atmosphere in the State and does not highlight Government's attention to talk to ULFA activists to resolve the dispute."

196. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the initiative proposed to be taken by the Government to increase exports to the USA by negotiating with them on Super 301."

197. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely—

"but the regret that the Address does not mention about the steps for creating an atmosphere for more power generation in the country which is recently starved of power in various sectors including industry, agriculture and other sectors."

[Shri V. Narayanasamy]

198. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention in categorical terms that the Government will continue to give fertilizer subsidy to the farmers, which will definitely boost production and create an impression in their minds that the Government is working for their welfare."

199. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for the review of the industrial environment in the country and strict adherence to the implementation of environmental conservation norms."

200. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the Government will fully implement reservation to Backward Classes in all the States uniformly and uplift the backward sections of the society through the Backward Classes Development Corporation."

201. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the five technology missions introduced by Shri Rajiv Gandhi will be implemented fully, espeicially the scheme of potable drinking water which was his brain child."

202. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the fact that in spite of several measures taken by the Government, the trend of population growth has not been arrested and severe steps will have to be taken by Government to control population so that the country scare resources may be used in a better manner."

203. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fail to mention that the Government will review the existing public distribution system and start more public distribution centres within the reach of the poor villagers to enable them to get their essential commodities."

204. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention that the Government will eliminate the LTTE cadres in the country, deport all the Sri Lankan refugees who are involved in anti-social and terrorist activities in Tamil Nadu and take severe action against those organisations and people who are supporting the terrorist groups from Sri Lanka."

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, there has never been any precedent that a Member from the ruling party moves amendments to the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Later he will withdraw.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Should we take it that there is something else?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): There is nothing else.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Are they objecting to democratic functioning in Parliament?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): They are practising real democracy now.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr. Narayanasamy has dared to move amendments to the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Why are you taking credit? He has moved the amendments and you are trying to take credit.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: We are eager to place our giving credit to him on record.

SHRI A G. KULKARNI: The Congress party is a cadre-based party. It is not a mob party.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: It is a mass-based Party. The people are with us. Only very few are with the Communists.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: You must appreciate my appreciating you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): As a result of this confusion, everybody is out of his afternoon siesta. Now, the House is alert. Mr. Narayanasamy, you should be grateful to him that he is appreciating you.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: It is subject to successful withdrawal.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): That is your footnote.

By SHRI SURESH PACHOURI (Madhya Pradesh): I beg to move:

205. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address to provide protection by Special Protection Group (SPG) to the family members of the former Prime Minister. Late Shri Rajiv Gandhi and also to provide Chemical Detector Security arrangement to VVIPs who are in 'Z' category."

206. That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the mal-practices such as booth capturing and misuse of the State's administrative machinery in Madhya Pradesh during the recent Lok Sabha polls."

207. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not spell out any action-plan for reintroduction and strengthening of povetry alleviation programmes."

208. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the plight of the litigants in view of the huge pending cases in the High Courts and the need for opening of High Court benches in each of the State Capitals."

209. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any action plan for providing drinking water facility in every village of the country."

210. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any action-plan to control uoods, droughts and natural calamities."

211. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any action-plan for providing free education upto the secondary level and free mid-day meal and clothing to the students, particularly in rural India, atleast upto the primary level."

[Shri Suresh Pachouri]

212. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any action-plan for the relief and rehabilitation of the affected people of the Bhopal Gas tragedy."

213. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"'but regret that the Address does not mention about any action-plan for providing electricity and proper roads in the rural areas."

214. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about comprehensive programme of Science and Technology to enhance agricultural production in the country."

215. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about establishing one sub-health centres under every Panchayat in the country."

216. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the steps to control the rise of communal and casteist forces in the country."

217. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that there is no expression of concern in the Address about the killing of a Russian Scientists by the terrorists in Assam."

218. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any future plan in respect of INSAT project."

219. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about projects for harnessing Solar Energy in substitute conventional sources of energy in the country."

220. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the necessity of adopting job oriented education policy."

221. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about providing educational facilities to the economically weaker sections, backward communities, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and minorities."

222. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to condemn the terrorist outfit of LTTE for using our soil to perpetrate criminal activities in India and abroad."

BY SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I beg to move:

223. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the higher production will be achieved by linking the productivity to wages."

224. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government will reduce its wasteful and non-Plan expenditure."

225. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government will remove corruption and demolish the nexus between politicians, bureaucracy and musclemen to enhance the quality of polity."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Amendment Nos. 226 to 232. Shri Rajni Ranjan Sahu. He is not here. Amendment Nos. 233 to 237. Shri Sukomal Sen. He is not here.

Amendment Nos. 238 to 241. Shri Dipen Ghosh.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have the same observation to make which the Leader of the Opposition made. I would like to know why the last word was deleted? I do not want to discuss the rule of the C.E.C. I only wanted to move an amendment about the way the election was held.

4.00 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): That also requires a substantive motion.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: It is not a question of substantive motion When we discuss the rule of the C.E.C. a substantive motion is required.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): What is amendment are you referring to? Look at your papers.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Which relates to the conducting of election.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): What is its number? Look at your papers.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I don't have the amendment with me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): That is your problem. You seem to be absent-minded.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: It is not the question of absent-mindedness. I have asked for the copy. It is amendment No. 239. The wording has been given like this: "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the partisan way in which the last Lok Sabha election was conducted." My amendment was, ". . . conducted by the C.E.C."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): So, there is a reference to the C.E.C. Your memory is not helping.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: We did not want to discuss the role of the C.E.C. or any other body.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): But the way you are describing, it does not impair the intent of your amendment.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Okay, I move all my amendments, 238 to 241.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Mr. Reddy, do you agree that his memory is not helping him?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Sir, I move:

238. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the implementation of the Prasar Bharati (Broadcasting Corporation of India) Bill which was unanimously passed by Parliament."

239. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the partisan way in which the last Lok Sabha election was conducted."

240. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the Right to work will be included as a Fundamental Right in the Constitution."

[Shri Dipen Ghosh]

241. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the steps to be taken by the Government to roll back the prices of certain essential commodities within 100 days of its tenure as promised in the Election Manifesto of the ruling Party."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Amendment Nos. 242 to 256, Shri Kalmadi; not present.

Amendment Nos. 357 to 276. Shri Ratnakar Pandey.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : मैं मूव करता हूं।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : एक पाइंट है, मेरा कि पांडेय जी मूव करें और कहें कि मूव करता हूं, यह ठीक नहीं लगता । हिंदी बोलें तो दोनों ही शब्द हिंदी में हों।

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : संचालित, परिचालित और प्रस्तुत करता हूं।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : हां, यह बात हुई। अब पाण्डेय जी पाण्डेय जी हो गए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष: मिश्र जी, यह भाषा आपकी समझ में आ गई या नहीं आई? बताइए।....

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं संचालित, परिचालित और प्रस्तुत करता हूं कि—

257. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में तमिलनाडु में "लिट्टे" की गतिविधियों को न रोकने के लिए पिछली सरकार की भर्त्सना नहीं की गयी है।"

258. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जायें, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खद है कि अभिभाषण में पिछले डेढ़ वर्ष के दौरान जम्मू और कश्मीर, पंजाब और असम में आतंकवादियों की गतिविधियों को रोक पाने में पिछली केन्द्रीय सरकारों की असफलता का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

259. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में जम्मू और कश्मीर राज्य में विदेशी नागरिकों के जीवन की रक्षा करने में पिछली सरकार की असफलता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

260. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में पंजाब में चुनावों की घोषणा के लिए जिसके परिणामस्वरूप काफी संख्या में उम्मीदवार मारे गये, पिछली सरकार की भूमिका की भर्त्सना नहीं की गयी है।"

261. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में राष्ट्रीय मामलों में कु-प्रबंध के लिए, जिसने देश को दिवालिया होने की वर्तमान स्थिति में पहुंचा दिया है, पिछली केन्द्रीय सरकारों की भर्त्सना नहीं की गयी है।"

262. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में ऋण प्राप्त करने के लिए जनता से परामर्श किये बिना विदेशों में सोना गिरवी रखने के लिए सरकार की आलोचना नहीं की गयी है।"

263. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में कतिपय साम्प्रदायिक संगठनों से कथित

संबंधों के लिए दिल्ली के कुछ महा-विद्यालयों की प्रबंध-समितियों के सदस्यों के विरुद्ध कोई कार्यवाही न किए जाने के लिए सरकार की भर्त्सना नहीं की गयी है।"

264. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सरकार द्वारा नई शिक्षा और औद्योगिक नीतियों की समीक्षा अथवा पुनर्रचना किए जाने के लिए किसी समय-सीमा का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

265. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सभी पात्र छात्रों को दिल्ली के महा-विद्यालयों में प्रवेश उपलब्ध कराने की सरकार की मंशा का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

266. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में आवश्यक वस्तुओं, सोना तथा चांदी के मूल्यों में वृद्धि को रोकने में सरकार की असफलता के लिए उसकी भर्त्सना नहीं की गयी है।"

267. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में 70 वर्ष से ऊपर की आयु के लोगों को वृद्धावस्था पेंशन उपलब्ध कराये जाने के संबंध में सरकार के इरादे का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

268. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में विश्व हिंदू परिषद् के लेखाओं की जांच कराये जाने तथा उनकी लेखा-परीक्षा कराये जाने के संबंध में सरकार की इच्छा का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

269. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में रामजन्मभूमि-बाबरी मस्जिद विवाद का दोनों समुदायों को मान्य हल निकालने के लिए सरकार के किसी समयबद्ध कार्य-क्रम का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

270. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में देश में सभी गांवों में पीने का पानी तथा बिजली उपलब्ध कराने के संबंध में किसी समयबद्ध कार्यक्रम का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

271. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में विशेष संरक्षा ग्रुप (एस. पी. जी.) द्वारा श्रीमती सोनिया गांधी की सुरक्षा उपलब्ध कराये जाने के संबंध में सरकार के निर्णय/इच्छा का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

272. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात्:—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में लोक प्रतिनिधित्व अधिनियम में संशोधन किये जाने के संबंध में सरकार की इच्छा का कोई उलेल्ख नहीं किया गया है जिससे कि अलगाववादी तत्वों के भविष्य में चुनाव लड़ने पर पाबंदी लगायी जा सके।"

273. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में बिहार में हाल ही के चुनावों के दौरान

[श्री रत्नाकर पाण्डेय]

लोगों को पर्याप्त सुरक्षा उपलब्ध कराने में सम्बद्ध अधिकारियों की विफलता की निन्दा नहीं की गई है, जिसके कारण मतदान का प्रतिशत कम रहा।"

274. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में अखिल भारतीय सिविल सेवा परीक्षा (1991) के प्रश्न-पत्र लीक हो जाने के संबंध में कोई चिन्ता प्रकट नहीं की गयी है।"

275. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में महिलाओं के लिए किसी विशिष्ट योजना का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है जिससे कि उनकी, विशेषकर गांवों में रहने वाली महिलाओं की आर्थिक दशा में सुधार किया जा सके।"

276. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में समूचे देश में हाई स्कूल स्तर तक सभी को निःशुल्क शिक्षा उपलब्ध कराये जाने के संबंध में सरकार की इच्छा का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Amendments Nos. 277 to 282, Shri Dave, absent. Amendments Nos. 283 to 298, Shri Agarwal, absent. Amendment Nos. 299 to 345, Shri Satya Prakash Malaviya.

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष, महोदय, मैं अपना संशोधन रखता हूं।

299. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में चुनाव कानून में व्यापक संशोधन करने की सरकार की मंशा का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

300. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में उत्तर प्रदेश के पिछड़ेपन को दूर करने के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

301. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में उत्तर खण्ड के लोगों में अत्यन्त गरीबी और पिछड़ेपन के कारण व्याप्त असंतोष को दूर करने के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।"

302. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में पिछड़े वर्गों के उत्थान के लिए मंडल आयोग की सिफारिशों को लागू करने के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

303. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में किसानों में व्याप्त असन्तोष को दूर करने और उन्हें उनकी उपज का लाभप्रद मूल्य दिलाने के लिए सरकार द्वारा उठाये जाने वाले प्रस्तावित कदमों के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

304. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में दिल्ली को पूर्ण राज्य का दर्जा दिये जाने और वहां विधान सभा स्थापित किए जाने के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

305. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में मिर्जापुर तथा मेजा-बाड़ा तहसील, इलाहाबाद (उत्तर प्रदेश) में रहने वाले आदिवासियों की स्थिति में सुधार लाने के लिए किसी बात का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

306. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में देश में शिक्षित और अशिक्षित बेरोजगार युवकों की बेरोजगारी को दूर करने के लिए किसी बात का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

307. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में आवास-समस्या का समाधान करने तथा गृह-विहीनों को आवासीय-एकक प्रदान करने के लिए किसी बात का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

308. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में देश के पिछड़े इलाकों की स्थिति में सुधार लाने के लिए कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

309. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में आवश्यक वस्तुओं के मूल्यों को नियंत्रित करने तथा जीवन-यापन की लागत में अत्यधिक वृद्धि को रोकने के लिए किसी बात का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

310. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में हरिजनों और निर्बल वर्गों पर होने वाले बर्बर अत्याचार को रोकने के लिए सरकार द्वारा उठाये जाने वाले किन्हीं ठोस कदमों का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

311. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सिर पर मैला ढोने की प्रथा को समाप्त करने के लिए किसी योजना का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

312. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में किसानों को अबाध गति से बिजली दिए जाने के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

313. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंकों के कार्यकरण में सुधार लाये जाने के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

314. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में खाद्यान्नों में मिलावट की रोकथाम किये जाने के लिए कोई ठोस कदम उठाये जाने के बारे में कोई संकेत नहीं दिया गया है।"

315. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में असैन-सनझौता लागू करने के लिए किसी कार्यक्रम के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

316. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :–

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में साम्प्रदायिक प्रवृत्तियों और तनाव की

[श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय]

रोकथाम करने के लिए किन्हीं ठोस कदम उठाये जाने के बारे में कोई संकेत नहीं दिया गया है।"

317. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में काम के अधिकार को संविधान के एक मौलिक अधिकार के रूप में शामिल किये जाने के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

318. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में बेरोजगारों को बेरोजगारी भत्ता दिये जाने के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

319. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में भूमि-सुधारों के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

320. प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में खेतीहर श्रमिकों और भूमिहीन व्यक्तियों के जीवन स्तर में सुधार करने की किसी योजना के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

321. प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सत्तारूढ़ दल द्वारा अपने उद्देश्यों की प्राप्ति के लिए दूरदर्शन और आकाशवाणी के दुरुपयोग को रोकने की किसी योजना के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

322. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में गरीबी रेखा से नीचे रह रहे व्यक्तियों की स्थिति में सुधार लाने के लिए किसी समयबद्ध योजना के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया।"

323. प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में प्रतिवर्ष बाढ़, अतिवृष्टि और सूखा से होने वाले नुकसान को रोकने के लिए किसी प्रभावी और समयबद्ध योजना का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

324. प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में पंजाब राज्य में आतंकवाद को समाप्त करके और वहां शांति स्थापित करके पंजाब समस्या को हल करने की किसी प्रभावी तथा समयबद्ध योजना के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

325. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में उत्तर प्रदेश के इलाहाबाद जिले में बमरौली हवाई अड्डे के सुधार और आधुनिकीकरण के लिए उठाये जाने वाले प्रस्तावित कदमों के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

326. प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :-

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में इलाहाबाद से भटनी तक छोटी रेल लाइन को बड़ी रेल लाइन में परिवर्तित करने के लिए किसी कार्यवाही के संबंध में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

327. प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्न-लिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में पेयजल की अत्यंत कमी का सामना कर रहे क्षेत्रों में संकट को समाप्त करने के लिए सरकार द्वारा उठाये जाने वाले प्रस्तावित कदमों के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

328. प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्न-लिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों से शहरी क्षेत्रों में रोजगार की तलाश में ग्रामीण के पलायन को रोकने की आवश्यकता के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

329. प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्न-लिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में शहरी क्षेत्रों में अबाध गति से बढ़ रही गन्दी बस्तियों को रोकने के लिए उठाए जाने वाले कदमों के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

330. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्न-लिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में अश्लील और भद्दे तथा कामोत्तेजक पोस्टरों के सार्वजनिक स्थानों पर प्रदर्शित किये जाने से रोकने हेतु किसी योजना के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

331. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्न-लिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में देश के सरकारी कामकाज में अंग्रेजी भाषा को जो उपनिवेशवाद की प्रतीक और विदेशी भाषा है, समाप्त करने की किसी योजना के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

332. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्न-लिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में चीन द्वारा अनधिकृत रूप से अपने कब्जे में ली हुई भारत की भूमि को वापस लेने की किसी योजना के सम्बन्ध में उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है और न ही इसमें लोक सभा के 1962 के संकल्प को कार्यान्वित करने के बारे में कोई उल्लेख किया गया है।"

333. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्न-लिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में दहेज प्रथा के उन्मूलन के लिए किसी समयबद्ध योजना के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

334. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्न-लिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में रुग्ण-उद्योगों को पुनरुज्जीवित करने की किसी योजना का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

335. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्न-लिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में केन्द्रीय सरकार के पेंशनभोगियों की दशा में सुधार लाने के लिए किसी योजना का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

336. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्न-लिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में किसानों से अधिगृहीत की गयी भूमि के लिए उन्हें उचित मुआवजा प्रदान करने की किसी योजना का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

[श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय]

337. प्रस्ताव के अंत मे निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में राज्यों मे राज्यपालों की नियुक्ति की प्रक्रियाओं में अन्तर्निहित शामिलो से उत्पन्न असन्तोष के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

338. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सरकार मे फिजूलखर्ची को रोकने की आवश्यकता का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

339. प्रस्ताव के अंत म निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में आम आदमी को सस्ता और जल्द न्याय दिलाने की किसी योजना का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

340. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में अन्तर्राज्यीय परिषद स्थापित किये जाने के बारे में सरकार की इच्छा का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

341. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में आय और व्यय की अधिकतम सीमा निर्धारित किये जाने की आवश्यकता का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है। "

342. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में उच्च-स्तरों पर भ्रष्टाचार को समाप्त करने में सरकार की असफलता तथा उसमें इच्छाशक्ति का अभाव होने के बारे में कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

343. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में विदेशी-कर्जो के भुगतान के संबंध में सरकार के लगातार बढ़ते जा रहे दायित्व के बारे में उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

344. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किंतु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में कालेधन तथा भारतीयों द्वारा विदेशी-बैंकों में जमा कराये गयी धनराशि का पता लगाने तथा दोषी व्यक्तियों को दण्डित करने में सरकार की विफलता का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

345. प्रस्ताव के अंत में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

"किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में कृषि को उद्योग का दर्जा दिये जाने की मांग का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।"

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Amendments Nos. 346 to 349, hon. Member not there.

Amendments Nos. 350 to 354: Shri Gurupadaswamy.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Sir, I move:

350. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the measures to reduce inflation and to eliminate ever increasing black money which is leading to the economic crisis of an unprecedented proportion."

351 That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the programme to provide adequate health services particularly in the rural areas with the growing population."

352. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the adverse effect of the IMF conditions on the Indian economy as a whole and the price situation in the country."

353. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need to find an effective solution to the prevailing economic situation instead of resorting to frequent borrowing from the international financial institutions."

354. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the urgent need to step up oil exploration in the country to avoid imports involving huge foreign exchange thereby adding to the foreign exchange crisis."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Amendments Nos. 355 to 364. Shri Jaiswal, absent.

Amendments Nos. 365 to 373. Shri Yelamanchili Sivaji.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I move:

365. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the violence, arson and looting of properties belonging to leaders of non-Congress parties in Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Tripura."

366. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the measures to be taken to discourage alcoholism."

367. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the measures to be taken to abolish capitation fees in educational institutions."

368. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the measures to be taken to clear the pending proposal for setting up of various power/irrigation projects in various states."

369. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the measures to be taken to relieve farmers from debt burden."

370. That at the *end* of the Motion the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the measures to be taken to supply fertilisers, pesticides and other agricultural implements at international prices."

371. That at the *end* of the Motion the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the measures to be taken to improve the living conditions of rural folk."

[Dr. Yelamanchili Sivaji]

372. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the measures to be taken to fill the gap between the price received by the farmer for his produce and the one paid by the consumer for the same, by abolishing middle men."

373. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the measures to recover loans advanced by public financial institutions to lakhs and lakhs of sick units."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Amendments Nos. 374 to 377. Shrimati Kamla Sinha.

SHRIMATI KAMLA SINHA: Sir, I move:

374. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

"but regret that the Address neither mentions Government's failure to implement recommendations of the Mandal Commission nor does it contain any assurance to implement them."

375. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the Government will, by a Constitutional amendment include 'Right to Work' in the list of Fundamental Rights."

376. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of Government's failure to check price-rise, deteriorating law and order situation, and increase in crimes and atrocities on weaker sections of the society including women."

377. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the faulty economic policy of the Government as reflected in the increasing International loans from the World Bank and IMF and its new privatisation policy will land the country in near disastrous situation."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Amendments Nos. 378 to 393. Shri V. Gopalsamy.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The words 'Chief Election Commissioner' have been deleted.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Already there is a ruling by the Chair.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I have expressed my objection. This is an attempt to silence our voice.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): No, no, nobody can silence your voice. It is so loud and clear.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I move:

378. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the arbitrary and undemocratic decision to postpone the elections in Punjab."

379. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the unjustifiable omissions and commissions and irregularities committed in the conduct of the recent General Elections."

380. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the address fails to mention the sellout of Indian economy to the IMF and World Finance Institution by

pledging gold with Bank of England."

381. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the road paved for economic disaster by the arbitrary steps of devaluation."

382. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the implementation of Nehru's assurance to the Non-Hindi speaking people on language Policy."

383. That at the end of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not contain any assurance that the Centre will not misuse powers under Article 356 of the Constitution to dismiss any State Government not to its liking."

384. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the fact that the Central Government has utilised Article 356 of the Constitution to install administration of its own choice as opposed to the choice of the people."

385. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not contain any assurance that the telephone tapping will be stopped forthwith."

386. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address, while expressing platitudes on inflation, unemployment and agriculture, does not indicate any positive steps in this regard."

387. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any steps to curb the activities of communal and chauvinistic forces which are posing a threat to secularism."

388. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the specific steps proposed to be taken by Government to solve the Punjab and Kashmir problems."

389. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to assure that the Government will not misuse the provisions of Article 356 of the Constitution as is being done in the last several years in our country."

390. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the steps the Government propose to take against rising cost of essential commodities."

391. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any specific time-frame for arriving at a solution of the Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute."

392. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about any effective measures to bring down the prices, particularly of consumer goods for providing relief to the common man."

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

393. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added* namely:--

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any time-frame for implementing the Mandal Commission recommendations."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Amendment No. 394, absent. Amendments Nos. 395 to 398. Shri Krishnan, absent.

The questions were proposed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Now the Motion and the amendments moved thereto are open for discussion.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: Sir, what has the Congress Party spokesman to say about the unprecedented amendments moved by its Members?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): It is not on the agenda. Yes, Dr. Raja Ramanna.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: Morning shows the day! Something is happening.

DR. RAJA RAMANNA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, first let me associate myself, with pleasure, with the Motion of Thanks for the President's Address.

Sir, the President—our Head of State—is a very experienced man, a very learned man, and if I make any remarks on his Address, I hope it would be taken in the spirit in which I will be making these remarks, and that is purely being positive and helpful in the prosecution of the new policies that are being proposed. Of course, I did not hear the Address.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): But you read it?

DR. RAJA RAMANNA: Yes, I was present in the central hall but I could not hear it. In fact, comment has already been made on what had happened there that day, but I feel particularly unhappy, Mr. Vice-Chairman, because the Central Hall of Parliament is a very great place, with a great history, but its use now like a restaurant doesn't do us much credit. Being used as a restaurant, people have lost respect for its quality, its maintenance value, and nothing seems to have been prepared that day, and when the President was actually saying that he was proud of Indian technology, I as a person belonging to the field of technology, felt very small and very unhappy.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): There is a lab-to-land problem in this area also!

DR. RAJA RAMANNA: Sir, if I make more angular remarks of this type, you will forgive me because one of the common expressions used in this Parliament is, "He is a very senior man, a senior parliamentarian." Now, I am not a senior parliamentarian but I am senior in years, comparatively. And the real measure of this is, I am one of those few people here, I think, who have been to the Babri Mosque as early as in 1941, that is, exactly 50 years ago. So it is something of a celebration expressing some views on the Babri Mosque. But I feel a little sorry that that little mosque should have come to such national prominence. Well, when I had put my little flower there long ago, I quietly went away.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: You were still in the college then?

DR. RAJA RAMANNA: Well, I was in junior college. ..(*Interruptions*)... But I was aware of what was happening. Probably I was not sufficiently foreseeing then that it was going to become such a national problem. However. I would like to recall the discussion at that time between some people who were with

me, whose names I do not have to mention because it was 50 years ago. It was said how, when Rama belonged to another *yuga,* how there is a *Janmabhoomi* because, after every *yuga* there is *pralaya* and everything is washed off. It was a rather interesting discussion and it is worth looking at once again.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): But what was the conclusion?

DR. RAJA RAMANNA: Sir, if I had known the conclusion, I would not have even raised the matter. You would have known it yourself ... *(Interruptions)* ...

Sir, the President's Address contains specific references to various aspects of Law and Order, Finance, Health and Education and, Sir, you will permit me to make a very short remark on each one of them and, I will assure you, Sir, that in the profession to which I belong, when we make our speeches shorter, they are better appreciated. Now, Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan did speak for a considerable amount of time but I was a little confused whether it was on the Motion of Thanks to the President or it was a Motion of Thanks to Mr. V. P. Singh for having introduced resevations. I was confused.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Apparently she succeeded, then!

DR. RAJA RAMANNA: I come back to the President's Address. Our President spoke for a considerable period of time on the law-and-order situation. We are all very unhappy about what is happening in Kashmir which is supposed to be our most delightful State. There are a few statements in his address and I make reference only to what is in the President's Address. You will agree that it is a good proposition to keep to what is in the Address because we are dealing with the Motion of Thanks. I am not going out of that. It says that efforts are being made to provide employment for the youth of Kashmir. Now this phrase, "employment to youth", is a thing that has been used by the Government for the last thirty years. In fact, I recall the times when I was a Secretary to the Government. There was talk of how many new jobs must be created and how to recruit people, just like that, so that there is no unemployment. But nowhere is it said—then and how again—how you are going to recruit and employ these youth and what the criteria is. In fact, I think, in the description of the work of the Government, whatever the Government does in future, how these things can be implemented is perhaps more important than a general policy statement, that we will solve the Kashmir problem by providing more employment to the youth.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Let us hope that kind Secretaries are listening to you.

DR. RAJA RAMANNA: Well, the new Secretaries do not have to follow what I went through.

However, let me come to Assam, the State which I know much better. Some changes were introduced there. There is even a feeling that things have improved in Assam except for some unpleasant people like the ULFA people. But the Assam problem cannot be solved by merely an election. It cannot be solved simply by running down the ULFA. I think, there are deep-set problems about which I spoke in the last-but-one session of Rajya Sabha, and I would like to say just one or two words about it.

There is a feeling among the people that you are taking the wealth of the State away and not feeding it back into that State. Many oil tankers come out from the State. Yes, we need oil. They are ready to give it. But when it comes to payment of royalties it take years, more discussions are held on whether it should

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be this way or that, as a result of which none of the wealth that is going out of the State is available back for that State to build upon. This is known to everybody. But nothing seems to be done because whoever is dealing with it, thinks, "Let me push my files and papers along," without realising how much impact it has on that State.

I can continue with such instances. But this is not what I am here for. So, I would like to go to the next aspect of law and order, a subject of which I know a little bit more, and that is "defence."

Our Defence face is an excellent body of people, perhaps a little old fashioned, and has to be modernised, and this has been recognised. In the President's Address there is a definite reference to self-reliance. I would advise the Government and the powers that be, not to interfere too much with the fighting forces and make them a police force. It is very important that the army remains as a group which is essentially there to fight battles on the other side of the frontier and not on this side of the frontier. It is a very very dangerous thing to change the morale of the army by making it fight its own people. This is a thing which I especially bring to your attention, as I think it is possible because we do have large police forces. But sometimes they may not be efficient enough and are not trained enough with the same discipline as the army, and that is why they may not necessarily do the job as effectively as the army does it.

There is also a law which states that a Deputy Commissioner of a place can call the army in an emergency situation and then give an explanation why he called it. But in an emergency he can do so. But this can be misused also. I just bring it to your attention that there is a law like this under which a comparatively junior officer can call the army on the ground that the law and order has broken down. This is not a very safe situation.

On the matter of self-reliance there is a lot that can be done. It has been done in the name of R&D. But I am more worried about the efficiency of the factories, and I will raise this matter when the "Defence" subject will be discussed. All that I have said this has got nothing to do with political parties. In fact, I have faced a walkout here in this House for having said that Defence should not be treated as a party matter Defence concerns matter involving the entire nation. Now, the Defence industries include many which were built nearly 150 years ago. Many of them are in Calcutta, Dum Dum, Aravankadu and other places, but they are still running in the same place perhaps on the same system. A lot of these units can be passed on to industrial units since our industry is now developed very highly in the country. What we should do is to get components and put them together and thus get the whole country make an effective contribution to the strength and modernness of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. I have always advocated that a time has come to start a department of Aerospace in which the missile industry and the air industry are coupled together and made into a powerful industrial group and not simply divided into old-fashioned groups. When everything is made in one factory, it is the most inefficient way of looking at the defence structure of the future. This has to be changed. Many people have asked me personally and since I am neither a Minister, nor anybody...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): You are an hon. Member of Parliament.

DR. RAJA RAMANNA: I am already using that advantage here. But take that out and I can speak more freely.

In saving money in Defence people are asking what cuts are possible. That is a subject which has to be discussed when the Defence subject is being discussed, but I would like to make a few general remarks. Newspapers write a lot about modern technology, about nuclear technology, will it save money, will it give you higher position in the world especially when your neighbours are growing stronger and stronger? These are the things which should be carefully thought out. When the new Government is just a few days old, I don't think it is a very wise thing to have a discussion on it. But, at this stage I would like to bring to your attention the importance of such matters in the immediate future. According to some protocol we say that the economic measures are even more important than the law and order measures. Fortunately, we had the Finance Minister for whom I have the greatest respect answering many questions just yesterday morning and he was very cooperative Very important questions were asked of him. The address refer to cuts in Governmental expenditure. This has gone on for the last 40 years. My experience is the occasionally a note comes in saying that the strictest economy must be insisted upon. A fairly junior officer gets hold of it and intepret as cuts on ink, rubber, pencil and paper. That is all that he can do. But, I think the real depth and solution to the Indian financial problem is not simply cuts without a proper philosophy of what should be cut. I realise it it is also clinche when I am using. We all agree that there should be cuts but on what grounds. Reducing the licensing system is good, but it must be done without imposing a bigger licensing system in the process of cutting. There must be some very very careful thinking as to what should be cut and what should not be cut. This, I think, is the most difficult aspect of the Finance Minister's work and it is no use simply giving pro-rata cuts to various departments. Since one has no time to examine the cuts, usually pro-rata cuts are resorted to an one lauds up with half a factory or one fraction of a tank or some ridiculous fraction of a complete system. It leads to delays and loss worth crores of rupees follows. Now, when you say we should reduce the Government expenditure, it also means we should not waste money. But how do we do this? This has been talked of year after year in the Planning Commission and finally they end up with a pro-rata cut which is the worst form of cut, as it helps neither the producer nor the Government.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have some remarks on other aspects of the governmental work which have been referred to in the Presidential speech and that refers to health education and as I will put, generally the morale of the country. I would also like to make one point about the political position of India with respect to the rest of the world in which the President has spent some amount of time because I think it is important to assess what other countries think about us, I will however keep my promise of being within the time allotted to me.

If you ask me, in Health, there is a reference and I only refer to what is being said in the President's speech-encouragement to Homoeopathy Now, I have no objection to encouragement to Homoeopathy but when Homoeopathy is specially put in there, it smacks a little bit of being favourable to a certain group of people. I belong to the scientist profession and I admire Allopathy. You all admire Allopathy because death rate came down only when anti-biotics and things like that came into existence. Before that, all the other kinds of systems mentioned existed but it had no effect on the death rate which was very high. There is something to appreciate in a allopathic medical system which depends for its strength

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on Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, Biology and modern technology. But in systems which depends more on intuition, the misuse that is going on in the country is frightful. I say all this because the speech definitely refers to Homoeopathy alone as such and I bring this to the notice of the House.

Now I come to Education. Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is a subject which everybody has a view on and if you ask me where have we failed most, I can tell you easily where we have succeeded most—industry science and technology etc. —but we have failed most in the educational side. You are yourseelf a Professor, Mr. Vice-Chairman, and I do not know whether you are satisfied with the things around you. Looking at it from various points of view I think the mistake that we have made is suddenly giving, so much importance and encouragement to everybody to go in for higher education believing that everybody must have a university degree if he has to be anything. It is a very unfortunate thing that has happenned both to the university and the people who take B.A. and B.Com. by night schools and things like that; whereas they could have been wonderful carpenters, excellent welders etc. and in the process making a lot of money. In foreign countries, it is these people who really have become wealthy.

You have encouraged people to; go and take your B.A. degree or a B.Com degree. What is the use of that? Your colleges have expanded well beyond its seams, tearing itself out. You have not enough teachers to teach. You have reduced the importance of secondary education. You have increased university education. Even at the primary level, you have not taught everyboody to read and write which even Burma has overcome with the help of Buddhist mission with much less resources than ours. It seems a very unhappy situation that at the primary level literacy has not been achieved. With script reforms and things like that, people have learnt things faster. Now, of course, that is too much to think of. But secondary education which is a very very crucial and important thing with a lot of accent on techniques, on technology and giving it a proper place in society would have solved most of our problems but I leave it at that because the President is worried about education. His Government is worried about education and I hope, something will be done. I am afraid, Sir, you all will be annoyed if I say that the decision that you are going to start a Backward Classes Corporation, upsets me. What does a corporation do? Yes, it gives jobs to some people. You have so many corporations. Is that the way you introduce improvements? There are so many commissions, what do they do? What credibility do they have to achieve except giving some jobs? Is that the way of tackling the problem? I would like to draw your attention towards this.

On women welfare I would not say much because there are many representatives here. I will end by making one or two references to the morale in the country. We have just passed through a very important turning point in our history. Sir, 40 years of Nehruvian culture is supposed to have come to an end. Now it requires a certain change in our attitude and I keep asking whether our people who administer, who look after the public sector or who look after the banking system have the right attitude. They still seem lost in the old British system with a little bit of Nehruvian-socialism. But if one looks further ahead, they are very hesitant, frightened; they want to live with old props to support them on their heads. I have been studying for quite some time, for the last three years, in the Institute of Advanced Studies and believe that there is a wonderful chance to change the thinking of

even senior people, not the seniormost because they are too busy, but less senior who become senior very soon. For this I must say I have had much help, moralewise, from our dynamic, new Minister of Personnel, Mrs. Margaret Alva. Now we are going to have more discussions with her to see that the usual method of proforma management copied from America, copied from Europe, is changed to meet the real needs of the people. A man asking for Government help must not be pushed around these problems must be appreciated and the paper work to help him should be reduced to the minimum with modern technologies using computer, memories and all that, these are available in cities and sometimes in villages. All these old forms in duplicates, triplicates and multiplicates should be wiped out etc. etc. But nothing has been done for years except in scientific institutions. Certainly the public sector has suffered that way. On the other side, the managements of private sector require modification for other reasons. They hardly improve on their products and depend on foreign help All industry has to be ready to provide everything the country wants. Are you ready for that? Many of our systems are no good by the international standards. That is why Japan goes way ahead, America goes way ahead. We merely say why don't we adopt the Japanese system? Yes we can't do that without a systematic change in higher management. However, the word 'management' itself is a wrong word. It is an attitude, a culture, that is missing and has to be developed. We require a new system of values. I think it is a very important aspect for our future and we should give special importance to it and not merely create more and more management schools which have not really risen to the occasion.

Sir, there were times when India was considered a very great country in South-East Asia. Whatever India said was copied by others. Panditji was quoted. Mahatma Gandhi was revered in far-off, remote, areas. There is a reference in the President's speech to our close relations with South-East Asia. But is South-East Asia willing to accept us? We have lost much of our credibility. Now we must ask ourselves why we have lost our credibility. Some say it is due to our financial position, some say our cities are so dirty, are they all slums. We have destroyed our great cities by creating slums. With that background how can we mke a case for a clean environment. Bombay is a great city which I love just like Mr. Bhandare who loves his city. Of course I do not belong to Bombay now, but I had been there for 40 years. I know what a great city it was, how we have misused the city and have done nothing for it.. In schools, we teach nothing about cleanliness and sanitation and yet we expect environment cleanliness.

All this is having an affect on the political life of India and abroad. My reference to sanitary cleanliness may make you think it is so trival? I do not think so. In fact, great things are built on trivalities and elementary cleanliness leads to industrial cleanliness Sir, now I will wind up by saying how important we thought it was for the President to bring many problems to our attention which, at first, looked simple. But when one starts thinking of how to rectify these problems, how to implement these things, then, you find that many difficulties arise there is no time for discussing these things and, we should look at them look back a few months later. I can't end without a reference to the tragic loss of a dynamic young man from whom we looked forward to many great things. Be that as it may we have to look to the future. The future is well within our hands but we seem to allow time to pass and allow all other countries to go way ahead of us and we still remain talking of the 19th

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century and the early part of this century. Thank you very much.

श्री बिशम्भर नाथ पांडे (नाम-निर्देशित) माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के 9वें पैराग्राफ और 29वें पैराग्राफ में कही गई बातों तक अपने आपको सीमित रखूंगा । 9वें पैराग्राफ में कहा गया है कि यह बड़ी चिन्ता की बात है कि साम्प्रदायिक ताकतें देश का वातावरण दूषित करने में सफल हुई हैं, जिससे पिछले दो वर्षों में भीषण दंगे भड़के हैं। सरकार ऐसी ताकतों से लड़ने और धर्मनिरपेक्षता के मूल्यों की रक्षा के लिए दृढ़ संकल्प है । सरकार धार्मिक, भाषाई और जातीय अल्पसंख्यकों के अधिकारों तथा हितों के मामले में कोई समझौता नहीं करेगी । एक संयुक्त त्वरित कार्रवाई बल का गठन किया जाएगा और उसे दंगों से निपटने के लिए पर्याप्त रूप से सुसज्जित और प्रशिक्षित किया जाएगा । यह बल अति अल्प-सूचना पर राज्य सरकारों को उपलब्ध कराया जाएगा साम्प्रदायिक दंगों से संबंधित अपराधों की सुनवाई के लिए आवश्यकतानुसार और अधिक विशेष न्यायालयों का गठन किया जाएगा । साम्प्रदायिक दंगों के शिकार हुए लोगों को शीघ्र और पर्याप्त मुआवजा देने के लिए संबंधित प्रक्रियाओं को मजबूत बनाया जाएगा । धर्म-स्थलों की पवित्रता को समुचित सम्मान दिया जाना चाहिए । हम साम्प्रदायिक तत्वों को कोई विवाद सम्पन्न करने और फूट डालने के लिए धर्म-स्थलों का उपयोग करके उनकी पवित्रता को नष्ट करने की अनुमति नहीं दे सकते । सरकार राम जन्म-भूमि-बाबरी मस्जिद विवाद को दोनों समुदायों की भावनाओं का समुचित आदर करते हुए बातचीत द्वारा हल करने के लिए हर संभव प्रयास करेगी । अन्य सभी धर्म-स्थलों के संबंध में कोई नया विवाद सम्पन्न न होने देने की दृष्टि से 15 अगस्त, 1947 की स्थिति बनाए रखने के लिए एक विधेयक पेश किया जाएगा। साम्प्रदायिक दृष्टि से संवेदनशील जिलों में जानकारी प्राप्त करने के लिए 1988 में स्थापित किए गए विशेष सैल को सुदृढ़ किया जाएगा ताकि दंगों को रोका जा सके । साम्प्रदायिक दंगों में जिन लोगों की जानें जाएंगी उनके निकट संबंधियों को समुचित रोजगार प्रदान कर उनका पुनर्वास किया जाएगा ।

माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह पैराग्राफ ऐसा है कि हमारे देश के इस वक्त के इतिहास में इसका बड़ा मूल्य है । आज हमें तय करना है कि हमारे देश की जो प्राचीन सभ्यता और संस्कृति है उसकी धुरी धर्मनिरपेक्षता है, यूनिटी इन डायवर्सिटी है, विविधता में एकता है । अगर यह धुरी नष्ट हो जाती है, तो यह देश कैसे खड़ा रहेगा ? इतिहास ने हमारे ऊपर बहुत बड़ी जिम्मेदारी सुपुर्द कर रखी है और वह जिम्मेदारी यह है कि हमारे देश में जो तमाम जातियां हैं, तमाम धर्म हैं, तमाम जो एथनिक माइनोरिटीज हैं, जो तमाम भाषायें हैं इन सब के रहते हुए भी इस देश में एकता होनी चाहिए, यह देश एक रहेगा । इस पर बराबर आज से नहीं अथर्ववेद के प्रथम सूक्त के वक्त से हमारी सभ्यता और संस्कृति जोर देती रही है । कल ही इस सदन में हमारे कुछ भाइयों ने इस प्रश्न को उठाया है । मुझे खुशी है कि वहां पर श्री सिकन्दर बख्त मौजूद हैं, कल उनको तैश आ गया था । उस तैश में उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि हम लोग जिम्मेदार हैं इस देश की अनेकता के लिए मैं बड़ी विनम्रता के साथ कहना चाहता हूं कि कांग्रेस में मुझे एक-दो नहीं पूरे 70 वर्ष हो गये हैं, कांग्रेस के भीतर रहते हुए, उसके भीतर काम करते हुए । मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूं कि मेरे जैसे हजारों कांग्रेस-जन हैं जो गांधी जी के दिखाये हुए रास्ते पर, सत्य पर विश्वास करते हैं, जो जवाहरलाल नेहरू के दिखाये हुए रास्ते पर विश्वास करते है और जिस रास्ते के लिये इंदिरा जी ने अपने प्राण दिये । वह रास्ता हम छोड़ने वाले नहीं हैं । भले ही कुछ लोगों के मन में ऐसी भावना आये जो इस पर विश्वास न करें लेकिन जो वास्तविक कांग्रेसजन हैं, जो इस पर विश्वास करते हैं वे इस पर अमल करते हैं।

महोदय, प्रश्न आता है जैसा कि अथर्ववेद में कहा गया है कि :

"जनं बिभ्रती बहुधा विवाचसम् ।
नाना धर्माणं पृथिवी यथौकसम् ।"

देशवासियों में जो विभिन्नता है, जो रंग-विरंगापन है उसे अथर्ववेद के ऋषि सहर्ष स्वीकार करते हैं और कहते हैं कि विभिन्नता के बावजूद सब में इस भावना का ही परिपोषण हुआ है और वे सब भारत की धरती के पुत्र हैं। अथर्ववेद के ऋषि ने सप्तम शब्द का इस्तेमाल किया है । आखिर यह राष्ट्रीय एकता कैसे प्राप्त की जा सकती है ? आपस में भिन्न होना, अनेक भाषायें होना, अनेक धर्मों और जातियों का होना यह कोई त्रुटि नहीं है । अभिशाप के रूप में उसकी कल्पना मुनासिब नहीं है। ऋषि की दृष्टि में उस विभिन्नता का कारण भौगोलिक परिस्थिति है । नाना धर्म, नाना भाषायें, बहुधा-जन, अलग-अलग रहने के कारण अलग-अलग हैं । इस स्वभाविक कारण से जूझना मनुष्य की मूर्खता है । यह कभी मिट जायेगा यह समझना भी भूल है । इसलिए इसके खिलाफ जेहाद छेड़ना बेवकूफी की निशानी है । ऋषि कहता है कि जो भी इंसान इस भारत भूमि में पैदा हुआ है उन्हें इस भूमि में एक सा अधिकार है ।

यह चीज जो अथर्ववेद के ऋषि ने कही यही चीज सदा काल के संतों ने हर जगह दोहराई है । असम में शंकरदेव जी हुए । उन्होंने भी इसी एकता का उपदेश दिया । बंगाल में चैतन्यदेव हुए, उन्होंने भी इसी एकता को दोहराया । उत्तर प्रदेश में संत कबीर हुए, उन्होंने भी इसी एकता को दोहराया । पंजाब में गुरू नानकदेव और बाबा फरीद हुए, उन्होंने भी इसी एकता को अपने प्रचंड शब्दों में दोहराया । यही हालत सारे भारत में रही । चाहे गुजरात हो, दादू वहां हुए, महाराष्ट्र में तुकाराम हुए । राजस्थान में मीराबाई हुई । दक्षिण में बसवेश्वर और तिरूवल्लुवर हुए । इन सब लोगों ने इस एकता की रट को दोहराया । फिर आप इस देश के लिये दूसरा रास्ता कैसे बता रहे हो ? मैं यहां पर कोटेशन, उद्धरण नहीं दूंगा लेकिन कहना चाहूंगा कि जब ब्रिटिश हुकूमत यहां पर थी, ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद यहां था तो किस तरह से उसने हमारी इतिहास की पुस्तकों को तोड़ा-मरोड़ा और फैक्ट्स को इधर से उधर किया और उन्होंने लोगों में गलतफहमी पैदा करने की कोशिश की। सर चार्ल्स उड ने यहां के गवर्नर जनरल को हिदायत दी कि उन्हें ऐसी तमाम इतिहास की पुस्तकें बनानी चाहियें जिनको पढ़कर लोगों में विभेद पैदा हो, लोगों में अनेकता पैदा हो क्योंकि इस अनेकता के होते हुए ही वे इस देश में ज्यादा से ज्यादा वक्त तक रह सकते थे । मैं कोई नई खबर नहीं देना चाहता लेकिन 1921–22 में मैं नागपुर में कांग्रेस का एक छोटा सा कार्यकर्ता था । वहां पर कांग्रेस के जो नेता लोग थे उनमें डा. हेडगेवार भी थे जिन्होंने बाद में आर. एस. एस. की स्थापना की थी। उस वक्त डा. हेडगेवार ने इसी सूक्त को लेकर राष्ट्रीय स्वयं सेवक संघ की स्थापना की थी। उस समय हम लोग बहुत छोटे थे । हम लोगों को उन्होंने उपदेश दिया कि राष्ट्रीय एकता को मजबूत करने के लिये ही मैं राष्ट्रीय स्वयं सेवक संघ की स्थापना करना चाहता हूं । यह विचार उनके हैं । वह कांग्रेस आन्दोलन में दो बार जेल भी गये लेकिन 1925 तक वह ठीक थे । उसके बाद डा. मुन्जे ने उनको सलाह मशविरा देकर विनायक दामोदर सावरकर से मिलने के लिए रत्नागिरी भेजा । वहां जा कर उनके विचार बदल गये । मैं उनसे मिला तो मैंने कहा कि आपने विचार तो बिलकुल बदल गये हैं, क्या आप सावरकर जी से मिल कर आए हैं तो कहने लगे कि हां मैं उनसे मिल कर आया हूं, मेरे विचारों में बदलाव आया है । अब प्रश्न यह है कि क्या हम अपनी पूंजी को, अपनी उस धरोहर को जो हजारों वर्षों से हमारे पास है उसको ऐसे बदल सकते हैं ? नहीं, मैं कहूंगा, हम उसको नहीं बदल सकते हैं । तो अब प्रश्न यह उठता है कि कांग्रेस ने सम्प्रदायवाद की आग को बुझाने में हमारे कई नेता लोगों ने अपने प्राण अर्पित कर दिये । गणेश शंकर विद्यार्थी ने जो उत्तर प्रदेश कांग्रेस कमेटी के अध्यक्ष थे, हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन के

[श्री विश्वम्भर नाथ पाडे]

अध्यक्ष थे "प्रताप" जैसे तेजस्वी पत्र के सम्पादक थे उन्होंने साम्प्रदायिकता की आग को बुझाने के लिए 25 मार्च, 1931 को अपने प्राण बलिदान कर दिये । उस वक्त जो सिलसिला शुरू हुआ तो एक नहीं दसियों कांग्रेस के लोगों ने आगे बढ़ करके चाहे अहमदाबाद के रायट हों, चाहे कलकत्ता के रायट हों अपने प्राण दिये । गुजरात के लोगों ने आगे बढ़ करके उस आग को बुझाने के लिए अपने आपको समर्पित कर दिया । ऐसी स्थिति में हमें क्या करना है और क्या नहीं करना है। आज प्रश्न उठाया जा रहा है बाबरी मस्जिद का । जब मैं मासिक पत्रिका "विश्ववाणी" का सम्पादन करता था 1945 में मेरे पास राय बहादुर ज्ञान शंकर पण्डया ने उस पत्रिका में छापने के लिए एक लेख भेजा था । उस लेख में उन्होंने बाबर के एक फरमान का जिक्र किया था जो उसने अपने बेटे हुमायूं के नाम जारी किया था । वह फरमान फारसी में है और इस प्रकार है --

अल हम्दोलिल्लाह
933 हिजरी

जहीरुद्दीन मुहम्मद बाबर बादशाह बहादुर ग़ाज़ी व शहज़ादा नसीरुद्दीन मुहम्मद हुमायूं तूल अल्लाह उम्रहु ।

व इस्तेहकाम सल्तनत् नविश्ता । शुद । फर्ज़न्द मुमलकते हिन्दुस्तान अज़ा मज़ाहब मुख़्तलिफ मामूर अस्त । व हम्द अल्लाह कि हक़क़ सुभान आला बादशाही आं वातो करामत फरमूद बायद कि तास्सुवाते मज़हबी रा, अज़ लौहे दिल पाक नमूदा मुवाफ़िक़ तराके हर मिल्लत मादलत कुन । ख़ुसुसन अज़कुर्बानी गाओ वे परहेज़ कि तसख़ीरे कुस्तबे हिन्दुस्तान अस्त । व रय्यत ई विलायत ब अहसानाते बादशाही बावस्ता शवद । व मनादिर व मावजदगाह के हर कौम-ए के ज़ेर फरमा बादशाही अस्त ख़राब मकुन । चुनां अदल गुश्तरी इख्तियार कुन कि शाह अज़ रय्यत व रय्यत अज़ बादशाह आसूदा शवदा तरक्की-ए-इसलाम अज़ तेग़े अहसान बिहतर अस्त न अज़ तेग़े जुल्म । अज़ मुनाकिशाहे अहले सुअत वशिया चश्म-पोशी कुल व इल्ला ज़ोफे इस्लाम मौजूद अस्त । व रय्यते मुख़्तलिफुल कुलूब दाव हुक्मे अरबा अनासर कायम कुनके ज़िस्मे सल्तनत अज़ अमराज़े मुख़्तालिज़ा अमान बाशद । व करनामचेए हज़रत तैमूर साहबे रानी पेशे नज़ बायद दाश्त के वा उमूरे शहरयारी पुख़्ता शवद । व मा इलऐन इल्ला अल वलाग यकुम जमा -दे-उल-अव्वल 933 हिजरी । आमीन ।

इसका हिन्दी अनुवाद यह है--

शहनशाह नसीरुद्दीन मोहम्मद हुमायूं के नाम ज़हीरुद्दीन मोहम्मद बाबर बादशाह गाज़ी की मकफी वसीयत । ऐ मेरे फरजंद, सल्तनत को स्थायी रखने की गरज़ से यह वसीयतनामा लिखा गया है । हिन्दुस्तान का मुल्क मुखतलिफ मज़हबों से भरा हुआ है । उस अल्लाह की तारीफ है जो न्यायवान, दयावान और महान है जिसने तुझे बादशाही बख्शी है । यह मुनासिब है कि तू अपने दिल से तमाम मजहबों की तरफ अपने तास्सुरों को निकाल दे और हर मिल्लत के तरीके में उनका अदल और इन्साफ का खास तौर पर गाय की कुर्बानी से परहेज कर।

क्योंकि इस तरह तू हिंदुस्तान के दिल को जीत लेगा और इस विलायत की रैयत का दिल इस एहसान से दबकर तेरी बादशाही के साथ रहेगा । तेरी बादशाही में हर कौम के जितने मंदिर और पूजाघर हैं उनकी हिफाजत करना । न्याय करना जिससे रैयत शाह से और शाह रैयत से आसुदा रहे। इस्लाम की तरक्की जुल्म की तेग के मुकाबले में एहसान की तेग से ज्यादा अच्छी हो सकती है । शिया और सुन्नियों के झगड़ों को नजरअन्दाज करना क्योंकि इन झगड़ों से इस्लाम कमजोर होता है । चारों तत्वों की तरह मुख़्तलिफ मजहबों के पैरोकारों से अच्छा बर्ताव करना ताकि सल्तनत का जिस्म मुख़्तलिफ बीमारियों के पाक साफ रहे । हजरतेतैमूर के कारनामों को अपनी नजर के सामने रखना ताकि सल्तनत के काम से तुम पुख़्ता हो जाओ और हमारा काम मजह तुम्हें सलाह देना है ।

ये वही तारीखें हैं जिन तारीखों में कहा जाता है कि बाबर वहां गया और उसने मन्दिर को गिराने की आज्ञा दी। यह कैसे हो सकता है। जो अपने बेटे को हिदायत देता है कि जितने भी पूजाघर हैं मुख्तलिफ मजहबों के उनकी हिफाजत करना, वह खुद मन्दिर गिरा दे। यह कैसे हो सकता है। तो आज हमें सोचना है कि इतिहास के खिलाफ हम कोई ऐसा कदम न उठायें जब तक कि पूरी तरह से हमको मालूम नहीं हो। इसलिए मेरी गुजारिश यह है कि हमें ठंडे तरीके से गौर करना होगा इस पर सोचना होगा। मुझे खुशी है कि कल भाई माथुर जी ने कहा कि नहीं हमारा, बी० जे० पी० का कोई इरादा मस्जिद गिराने का नहीं है। अगर ऐसी बात है तो उनको ऐलान करना चाहिए।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र: कहते हैं कि उठाकर दूसरी जगह रख देंगे। इस पर आपको क्या कहना है।

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: They want to shift it to another place by a mechanical device.

(व्यवधान)

श्री विशम्भर नाथ पांडे: नागार्जुन सागर में किसी इमारत को जो पत्थरों के स्लैब से बनी हुई हो, हटाना आसान है किन्तु ईंट और चूने की इमारत जिसको चार सौ वर्ष यहां खड़े हो गये उसको हटाकर एक जगह से दूसरी जगह रखने का मतलब तो यह है कि वह गिर जाएगी। तो ऐसी चीज कहने से कोई फायदा नहीं है। आपको यह समझना चाहिए कि इतिहास आपके साथ नहीं है इतिहास आपको गवाही नहीं देता है। 50 वर्ष के अपने इतिहास के अध्ययन के बाद मैं आपसे कहता हूं कि जो बात मैं कह रहा हूं वह सही बात है और इतिहास के पक्ष की बात है। तो इसलिए आज इतिहास को समझकर उस पर अमल करना है।

अब सवाल यह है कि आपको इसी नाम पर, मन्दिर और मस्जिद के नाम पर लोगों का वोट मिल गया। ठीक है। उनको याद है जब आसफुद्दौला वहां लखनऊ के नवाब थे तो उनको वहां के रेजीडेंट ने कहा कि हुजूर आप दरबार में बुलबुल लेकर जाते हैं। बुलबुल अच्छा पक्षी है लेकिन योरोप के लोग बुलबुल की तारीफ नहीं करते हैं, उल्लू की तारीफ करते हैं। इट इज ए बर्ड आफ विजडम। इसलिए आप बजाए बुलबुल के दरबार में अगर उल्लू लेकर जाएं तो लोग समझेंगे और सारी दुनिया में होगा कि कितने अक्लमंद बादशाह हैं, ये विजडम को पसंद करते हैं। चुनांचे उनको सलाह पसंद आ गयी। दूसरे दिन बजाए बुलबुल के, उल्लू लेकर पहुंचे। जब बादशाह सलामत उल्लू लेकर पहुंचे तो उनके दरबारियों ने भी उल्लू ले जाना शुरू कर दिया। उल्लू-बाजार लगने शुरु हुए। नतीजा उसका यह हुआ कि एक साहब विलायत के आये, उन्होंने कहा कि कैसे इनसे मुलाकात हो, तो कहा गया कि आप उल्लू खरीदिए। उल्लू कहां मिलेगा? बाजार लगता है उल्लुओं का। वे गये। एक मोटा सा उल्लू था, पूछा इसके दाम क्या हैं? बोले इसके दाम दो रुपये हैं। उनको लगा ये दो रुपये तो बहुत ज्यादा हैं, तो उन्होंने सोचा कि छोटा सा खरीद लूं। छोटे का पूछा कि इसके दाम क्या हैं। कहने लगे इसके दाम चार रुपये हैं। कहने लगे इतने बड़े के दाम दो रुपये और छोटे के दाम चार रुपये। कहने लगे बड़ा तो खाली उल्लू है, छोटा उल्लू है तो उल्लू का पटठा भी है। शायरों ने वहां कहा है—

"कद्रदानों का अजब रंग है जमाने में,
बुलबुलों को ये तमन्ना है कि वे उल्लू न हुए।"

अब मुश्किल यह है कि आपको हजारों लाखों वोट मिल गये। यह तो कद्रदानों की वजह से हुआ क्योंकि हर आदमी को उस वक्त यह फिक्र थी कि यहां राम का मन्दिर बनाना है, एक ईंट और जोड़ दो, एक वोट और डाल दो, राम मन्दिर बन जाएगा। लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि खोलना चाहिए, सोचना चाहिए। मुल्क का बटवारा करने की जरूरत नहीं है।

अब यह दूसरी बात है कि माथुर साहब हंस रहे हैं। वह सोचते हैं कि यह पुरानी कांग्रेस जो है, यह बड़ी बड़ी है, यह बड़ी उल्लू है।.... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : (उत्तर प्रदेश): मैं तो छोटा उल्लू.... (**व्यवधान**)

श्री विशम्भर नाथ पांडे : हमारे मित्रों ने जो मेरी बात सुनी, मैं उन्हें बताना चाहता हूं कि हमारे यहां की जो समस्या ब्रिटिश इम्पीरियलिज्म के साथ सांप्रदायिक समस्या शुरू हुई, मेरे मन में यह भावना थी कि इस सांप्रदायिक समस्या को सोवियत रूस ने कैसे हल किया, चीन ने कैसे हल किया, इसको जाकर देखूं ।

मैं चार महीने सोवियत रूस में रहा वहां के एथनिक माइनारिटीज की जितनी रियासतें थीं, सब जगह पर गया । वहां लोगों से मैंने बातचीत की और पूछा ।

इसी तरह मैं चीन गया और वहां के लोगों के साथ डेढ़ महीना रहा और वहां लोगों से बात की और पता लगाने की कोशिश की कि आखिर यह समस्या आपने कैसे हल की ?

लेकिन जब मैं ताशकंद में था, तो मैंने देखा कि जिस होटल में मैं ठहरा हुआ था, वहां रशियंस की एक पार्टी हो रही है । मैंने अपने दुभाषिये, शेर मुहम्मद, से कहा कि भाई यह पार्टी कैसी हो रही है ?

कहने लगे कि इनमें से एक इंजीनियर हैं, उनकी शादी की साल-गिरह है और इसलिए सब लोग जशन मना रहे हैं।

मैंने कहा कि जिस कारखाने में यह काम करते हैं, उसमें क्या कोई उजबैक काम नहीं करते ?

वह कहने लगे कि बहुत से उजबैक काम करते हैं।

तो मैंने कहा कि इनकी पार्टी में एक भी उजबैक नहीं दिखाई देता।

वह कहने लगे कि नहीं यह अलग-अलग रहते हैं, हमारे साथ मिक्स नहीं होते।

तो मैंने शेर मुहम्मद से कहा कि शेर मुहम्मद, जब तक इमोशनल इंटेग्रेशन नहीं होगा तुम्हारा आपस में, तब तक तुम्हारी रियासत खड़ी नहीं रह सकेगी और यह ढांचा जो तुमने खड़ा किया है, एकता का, यह बिखर जाएगा जिस वक्त भी यह दूसरी प्रतिक्रियावादी ताकतें जो हैं, उन्होंने जोर डाला तो ।

उसी तरह मैंने देखा कि चीन ने क्या किया । चीन ने पाकिस्तान की तरफ बड़ा दोस्ती का हाथ बढ़ाया करा कोरम रोड अरबों रुपये खर्च करके बना दी और पाकिस्तान के लोग सिक्यांग जाने लगे और सिक्यांग के लोग पाकिस्तान जाने लगे । नतीजा उसका यह हुआ कि जिन लोगों को अमरीका से हथियार मिले थे, ए० के०-47 और दूसरे उन लोगों ने इनको हथियार देने शुरू किये। वह हथियार पहुंच गये सिक्यांग में और वहां गांव-गांव में मस्जिदें बननी शुरू हो गई और उसके बाद उन्होंने तय किया कि पिछली अप्रैल में वह एक साथ बगावत करेंगे। जैसा कि और दूसरी जगह सोवियत रशिया में बगावतें चल रहीं थीं, वैसे सिक्यांग में बगावत करेंगे।

इस चीज का चीनी लोगों को हफ्ता भर पहले मालूम हो गया। उन्होंने फौरन पहला काम तो यह किया कि कराकोरम का दरवाजा बंद कर दिया, सड़क से जाना-आना बंद कर दिया और उसके बाद जितने भी अरबी मदरसे थे, वह सारे बंद करा दिये और कहा कि यह सब यहां पर नहीं चलेगा।

उसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि वह जो एक तूफान खड़ा होने वाला था, वह रुक गया। लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि जैसा मैंने कहा हिंदुस्तान में हमने हमेशा कोशिश की हम इमोशनल इंटेग्रिटी के जरिए और इमोशनल इंटेग्रिटी ने हमेशा इस देश को एक रखा है। इसके शीराजे को बिखरने से रोका है और अगर हम उस शीराजे को बिखरने देंगे, तो कैसे काम चलेगा ?

आज सवाल उठाया जाता है कि इस्लाम तेग़ के जरिए फैला है, तलवार के जोर से फैला है। मेरा इतिहास का जो ज्ञान है, मैं आपको यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूं कि यह बिल्कुल गलत है। न तो कुरान की यह तालीम है कि जबरदस्ती करो-"लकुम दीनुकुम वलीयदीन"-यानी मैं अपने दीन से, अब तुम्हारा दीन तुम्हारे लिये, हमारा दीन हमारे लिये। इसमें जबरदस्ती की कोई गुंजाइश नहीं है।

मैंने हजरत मोहम्मद की जीवनी पढ़ी है और अगर उनकी जिंदगी से आप वह पहले तेरह वर्ष निकाल दें कि जो कितनी मुसीबत के साथ, कितनी परेशानियों के साथ उन्होंने बिताये, तो आपको हैरानी होगी कि वह तो एक अहिंसात्मक सत्याग्रही थे, जिन्होंने हर तरह के जुल्म को कबूल किया, हर तरह के जुल्म बर्दाश्त किये। लेकिन अपनी बात से वह नहीं टले, अपनी बात से वह नहीं हट।

तो मैं आज यह कहना कि इस देश में जो करोड़ों मुसलमान हैं, उसकी वजह यह है कि उन्हें तलवार के जोर से मुसलमान बनाया गया, मैं आगाह करना चाहता हूं कि यह बात ऐसी नहीं है और इसका तब मुझे पता चला, जब 1946 में पंडित मदन मोहन मालवीय बहुत ज्यादा बीमार हो गये और इलाहाबाद में बाबू पुरुषोत्तम दास टंडन, जो कांग्रेस के प्रेजीडेंट थे, उन्होंने मुझसे कहा कि वह सवेरे मालवीय जी को देखने के लिए जा रहे हैं, तुम चलोगे? मैंने कहा कि मैं जरूर चलूंगा। उनके साथ मैं वहां गया। वहां जाकर मालवीय जी के यहां देखा हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी में कि लोग खामोश बैठे हुए थे 15-20 आदमी, सब गमगीन और सब के चेहरे उतरे हुए। टंडन जी ने पूछा कि बाबू जी, आप सब के सब गमगीन दिखाई दे रहे हैं। कहने लगे कि पुरुषोत्तम तुमने आज का अखबार नहीं पढ़ा? उन्होंने कहा कि नहीं, हम तो जल्दी इलाहाबाद से चल दिए थे। उसमें नोवाखली के दंगे का जिक्र था। उसमें जिक्र था किस तरह स्त्रियों को भगाया गया, किस तरह से लोगों को जबर्दस्ती मुसलमान बनाया गया, वगैरह-वगैरह। उसके बाद सब खामोश हुए और 10-15 मिनट खामोशी रही। उसके बाद शांति निकेतन के जो हमारे प्रिंसिपल आचार्य क्षिति मोहन सेन थे, उन्होंने कहा मालवीय जी महाराज, यह नोवाखली में जो दंगा हुआ है इसके पीछे एक ऐतिहासिक घटना है। वह कौन सी घटना है? उन्होंने कहा कि पूर्वी बंगाल में, उस जमाने में जो बंगाल का हिस्सा था पूर्वी बंगाल, संयुक्त बंगाल का, वहां हर गांव इस तरह से बसे हुए हैं कि एक गांव में खाली कायस्थ लोग रहते हैं, एक गांव में खाली ब्राह्मण लोग रहते हैं, एक गांव में खाली नम शूद्र रहते हैं, हरिजन लोग रहते हैं, एक गांव में खाली मुसलमान रहते हैं। जातियों के लिहाज से, धर्मों के लिहाज से अलग-अलग गांव हैं। काजिरखेल इलाके का एक आदमी ढाका गया। वहां जाकर उसने कुछ बदपरहेजी की और वह लौटकर आया तो उसे हैजा हो गया। हैजा होने के बाद, वहां गांव के बाहर एक तालाब होता है उसी में लोग पानी पीते हैं, नहाते और कपड़े धोते हैं, इसके कपड़े वहीं धोए गए। नतीजा यह हुआ कि जितने लोगों ने उस तालाब का पानी पिया उन सब को हैजा हो गया। कई मौतें हुईं। आस-पास के गांव के मुसलमान मातमपुर्सी के लिए आए और वह भी जब अपने गांव गए तो हैजा लेते गए। हैजा फैल गया। नतीजा यह हुआ कि कोई पांच हजार परिवार नेस्तनाबूद हो गए। कौन बचा! छोटे-छोटे बच्चे बचे, साल भर का, 6 महीने का, डेढ़ वर्ष का, दो वर्ष का, इस तरह ये बच्चे बचे। उनको हिन्दू गृहस्थ, जो आस-पास के गांव में रहने वाले थे, उन्होंने कहा भाई, अगर इनको बचायेंगे नहीं तो ये सब मर जायेंगे। पाप हमको पड़ेगा। आपस में सलाह करके एक-एक बच्चे को एक-एक हिन्दू गृहस्थ ने पाल लिया। बच्चे बढ़ने लगे और बड़े हुए। 4-5 वर्ष गुजर गए। तब ढाका के एक मौलवी साहब आए। उन्होंने पूछा हमारे मुरीद कहां हैं यहां मालूम हुआ कि मुरीद तो सब मर गए, कोई नहीं बचा। कहने लगे बच्चे

[श्री बिशम्बर नाथ पांडे]

छोटे बच्चे बचे हैं। वे कहां हैं ? आस-पास के हिन्दू गांव में हैं। वह वहां गये। वहां जाकर उन्होंने पूछा भाई, आपके घर में कोई हमारे मुरीद का बच्चा है ? कहने लगे हां, मुरीद का बच्चा है। उन्होंने बुलाया और कहने लगे तुम इन्हें सलाम करो, यह तुम्हारे पीर आए हैं, गुरु आए हैं। इनको सलाम करो। बच्चे ने सलाम किया। देखा तंदरुस्त बच्चा और फिर पूछा इसके जमीन-जायदाद भी कहने लगे हां। उसका हिसाब पाई-पाई का, हमारे पास है वह आप ले लीजिए। बच्चे को ले जाइये, रुपया ले लीजिए, जमीन संभाल लीजिए। कहने लगे न तो मैं बच्चा लेने आया हूं, न जमीन संभालने आया हूं, मैं तो देखने आया था। देखने के बाद जब वह ढाका गए तो ढाका में वहां फ्राइडे के दिन उन्होंने कहा कि नोवाखली के हिन्दू इंसान नहीं हैं, फरिश्ते हैं। उन्होंने जो हमारे साथ किया, उसके लिए हम सब को अल्लाह से दुआ मांगनी चाहिए कि बरकत हो इनकी, कभी इनको कोई तकलीफ न हों, इनकी हर तरह से उन्नति हो। इस तरह से उन्होंने कहा। यह बात अखबारों में भी छपी। बदकिस्मती से हिन्दू भी वहां बंगला पढ़ता है, मुसलमान भी बंगला पढ़ता है। अब नादिया के पंडितों ने जब यह पढ़ा तो उनको बहुत दुख हुआ कि यह क्या हो गया। उन्होंने आदमी भेजे और पता लगाया। कहने लगे हां, यह बात ठीक है। तो कहने लगे कि फिर क्या करना चाहिए। उन्होंने कहा कि पंडितों की एक सभा बुलाइए। सभा बुला करके उन गृहस्थों को जिन्होंने मुसलमान बच्चों को पाला था उनसे पूछा कि क्या तुम्हारी गृहिणी घर की है मालिकन, जब वह बच्चे को छूती थी तो उसके बाद स्नान करती थी या नहीं ? नहाने के बाद वह चौकेघर में, रसोईघर में घुसती थी या बगैर नहाए हुए ?

5.00 P.M.

उन्होंने कहा कि छोटा बच्चा, छह महीने का बच्चा, बार-बार छूना पड़ता था, तो उसको छूने के बाद बार-बार फ़र्लांग दूरी पर पोखर में नहाने जाती और वहां से आती तो सारा दिन मेरा इसी में निकल जाता। कहने लगे—इसका मतलब यह है कि तुमने छूआछात नहीं बरती। तीन दिन की बहस के बाद उन लोगों ने फ़ैसला किया कि जिन हिंदू गृहस्थों ने मुसलमान बच्चों को पाला है, वह सब हिंदू समाज से बाहर किए जाते हैं और इस बीच में अगर इनकी बहुएं यानी डाटर-इन-ला अपने मायके गई हैं तो उनके मायके के लोग भी जाति से बाहर किए जाते हैं और इसी तरह अगर इनकी लड़कियां अपनी ससुराल गई हैं तो वह लोग भी जाति से बाहर किए जाते हैं। इस प्रकार कोई 15 हजार आदमियों को नादिया के पंडितों ने हिंदू मजहब से, हिंदू समाज से लात मार कर बाहर कर दिया।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री भास्कर अन्नाजी मासोदकर) पीठासीन हुए थे।]

आचार्य क्षिति मोहन सेन ने कहा कि मालवीयजी महाराज, अगर आज, जो उस वक्त पन्द्रह वर्ष के थे या बीस वर्ष के थे, उनके मन में 1946 में यह भावना आए कि उनके साथ बुरा बर्ताव किया गया तो इसमें आश्चर्य की बात कौन सी है ? प्रश्न यह उठता है कि आज उनको यह कहना कि इन लोगों की जगह हिंदुस्तान नहीं है या तो श्मशान है या कब्रिस्तान है या पाकिस्तान है, इस तरह के नारे लगाना, नारे देना यह सब क्या है ? अरे भाई, वह तो हिंदू धर्म के अंग थे। उनको हमने, हिंदुस्तान समाज ने ही अलग किया, हिंदू समाज ने ही उनको बाहर किया और अब तुम उनको कहते हो कि मुल्क से बाहर चले जाएं। अरे, वह तो ऋषियों की संतान है। मालूम नहीं कितने लोग यहां ऐसे हैं, जिनके पास सचमुच असली खून है। मुमकिन है इमाम बुखारी साहब का असली खून हो, जो वहां से सीधे आए हों और किसका असली खून है, किसका नहीं है, मैं नहीं जानता। लेकिन यहां के जो करोड़ों लोग हैं, वह इस हिंदू समाज के हैं, जिनको हमारे दकियानुसी तरीकों ने मजबूर कर दिया कि वह दूसरे धर्म को स्वीकार

कर लें ? ऐसी स्थिति में आज हमको गौर से सोचना है । क्या हम अपनी पुरानी चीज छोड़ दें? क्या हम अपनी संस्कृति की धूरी को तोड़ दें? क्या हम भूल जाएं कि यह देश मुख्तलिफ मजहबों का देश है, यह देश मुख्तलिफ भाषाओं का देश है, यह देश मुख्तलिफ एथिनिक माइनोरिटीज का देश है? अगर यह भूल जाएंगे तो यह हिंदुस्तान नहीं रहेगा, मालूम नहीं क्या बन जाएगा । इसलिए आज सोचना है कि हम किस रास्ते पर चलें, कहां जाएं ? मेरी दस्तबस्ता अर्ज है, भाई बैठे हुए सिकंदर बख्त जी, उनसे कि ऐ मेरे भाई, आप समझदार इंसान हैं, जरा अपने लोगों को समझाइए कि बुनियादी चीज क्या है और बुनियादी चीज अगर वह समझ जाएंगे कि बिल्कुल सारा देश एक है तो इस देश में एक बड़ी भारी ताकत होगी, इस देश में बहुत जबरदस्त ताकत होगी ।

तो मैं आपसे कहने चाहता हूं कि इस पर सोचिए, नहीं तो क्या कैफियत होगी । आठवीं शताब्दी में हिंदुस्तान में एक जबरदस्त धर्मान्धता की तासुब की लहर दौड़ी और शशांक ने, जो बंगाल का राजा था, उसने हमला करके हजारों बौद्धों को मौत के घाट उतार दिया । उसने बौद्धगया जाकर जो बोधि-वृक्ष था, उसको उखाड़कर फैंक दिया, जड़ समेत उसको जला दिया । आज जो गया में बोधि-वृक्ष है, वह बोधिवृक्ष, जो लंका भेजा गया था उसकी शाखा लेकर के लगाया गया है । इसी तरह सुंदर पांड्य जो जैन था और बाद में शैव हो गया । उसने हुकुम जारी किया कि मेरी प्रजा में जो लोग जैन हैं, वह अपना धर्म छोड़कर के शैव धर्म स्वीकार करें । जिन लोगों ने नहीं किया, ऐसे आठ हजार आदमियों को मौत के घाट उतार दिया गया । क्या फिर से हम उस चीज को लाना चाहते हैं? क्या फिर वह तासुब की लहर दौड़ाना चाहते हैं इस देश में ? क्या इस देश में बहुत पुरानी संस्कृति को छोड़ देना चाहते हैं? आखिर हम किस तरफ जा रहे हैं, यह सोचने की बात है । संजीदगी से सोचने की बात है। मुझे उम्मीद है कि आप इस चीज को सोचेंगे और गौर करेंगे और जो हमारे राष्ट्रपति के एड्रेस में पैराग्राफ 9 है, उस पर पूरी तरह से ताईद करेंगे । यही तरीका है, जिससे अपने देश की अस्मिता को, अपने देश की इज्जत को, अपने देश की एकता को, अपने देश की संस्कृति को, अपने देश की तहजीब को बचा सकते हैं ।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ, माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं इस राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण का समर्थन करता हूं । धन्यवाद ।

श्री रणजीत सिंह : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर जो जयन्ती नटराजन जी की तरफ से मोशन मूव किया गया है, उस पर कई मैम्बर्स ने अपने विचार रखे हैं, मुझे भी इसमें शरीक होने का आपने मौका दिया, उसके लिए मैं आपका धन्यवाद करता हूं ।

मैं समझता हूं कि कुछ ऐसे चैलेंजिस हैं जो इस सरकार के सामने आए हैं और इससे पहले भी सरकार बनी थी । मेरा किसी पार्टी के खिलाफ ऐसा कहने का विचार नहीं है, लेकिन मैं यह समझता हूं कि जब तक देश मे पालिटिकल स्टेबिलिटी नहीं होगा, उसके बिना फाइनेंशियल या एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव स्टेबिलिटी, ये सब उसके बिना रह जाएंगी । पिछली जो सरकार बनी थी, हालांकि नम्बर से तो वे एम० पी० कम थे पर उसे कुछ ऐसोसिएटिड पार्टियों की सपोर्ट थी और सरकार बनने से यह दिख रहा था कि यह सरकार चलेगी । मैं चाहता हूं कि यह सरकार चले और जैसी देश की हालत है उसमें इस सरकार का चलना आज के दिन जरूरी भी है । पर आज इस सरकार के सामने बहुत से चैलेंजिस हैं । जब भी हम सेंट्रल हाल में बैठते हैं तो तरह-तरह की चर्चाएं चलती हैं कि कितने दिन यह सरकार चलेगी । मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि यह सरकार चले क्योंकि आज के दिन देश में कोई भी चुनाव नहीं चाहेगा और जब तक पालिटिकल स्टेबिलिटी नहीं होगी दूसरी स्टेबिलिटी नहीं आ सकेंगी और इस देश में आज

[श्री रणजीत सिंह]

जो सबसे बड़े चैलेंजिस हैं, वह फाइनेंशियल क्राइसिज हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि आफ्टर 1947 इससे बुरा कोई वक्त इस सरकार या देश के सामने नहीं आया। इस चुनाव में दुनिया भर की बायलेंजिज हुई थीं। इससे पहले किसी चुनाव में इतनी बायलेंसिज नहीं हुई और मैं समझता हूं कि जिस तरीके से यह सब होकर सरकार बनी है उसके बाद हर पार्टी में जो बड़े एडिटोरियल्स आए, बड़े उन दिनों में चर्चा रहे कि कि कैसी पार्लियामेंट बनेगी, आज वह पार्लियामेंट बनकर लोगों के सामने आई है।

मैं यह समझता हूं कि इस चुनाव में कई नई तरह के लोग आए हैं। कुछ साधु-महात्मा भी आए हैं, मेरी उनमें निरादर की भावना से कुछ कहना नहीं है, कुछ ऐसे लोग जिन्होंने गृहस्थी छोड़ दी थी, सन्यास ले लिया था, ऐसे लोग भी आए हैं। मेरा ऐसा कहने का अर्थ उनका निरादर करना नहीं है मेरा कहना है कि कहीं वह साधु लोग समाज को सुधारने की बजाए राजनीति में खुद ही न फंस जाये क्योंकि उन्होंने इस तरह की राजनीति में आने का निश्चय किया है।

दूसरे मैं कहूंगा कि इस वक्त देश में सबसे बड़ा फाइनेंशियल क्राइसिज है। आई०एम०एफ० की चर्चा चली। कहने लगे कि 2 बिलियन डालर मिलेगा 5 मिलेगा 7 मिलेगा। मैं नहीं कहता कि हमें आई०एम०एफ० का लोन नहीं लेना चाहिए कोई समृद्ध देश नहीं लेना चाहेगा पर जैसे हमारे देश के हालात हैं उनमें हमें लेना चाहिए। पर मैं यह कहूंगा कि हमें कर्ज लेकर भी घी नहीं पीना चाहिए। हमें देश की बेसिकली फाउंडेशन मजबूत करनी चाहिए जिससे कि हम इन क्राइसिज से निकलकर आगे चल सकें।

इसके अतिरिक्त मैं इसमें जिक्र करूंगा, जैसा कि महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण है, उसमें सुझाव है कि नए टैक्सिज कैसे लगाएं, हमारी आर्थिक शक्ति कैसी हो, उसमें क्या करना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूं कि सबसे पहले हमें गवर्नमेंट के जो बहुत बड़े खर्च हैं--चाहे गवर्नमेंट के माडर्मिनिस्ट्रेशन पर हो या दूसरी मिनिस्ट्रीज में हों, उन्हें हमको कम करने चाहिए मैं आपको दो-चार ऐसे इन्स्टेंसिज क्वोट करूंगा कि अकेले इलेक्ट्रिसिटी बोर्ड, उसमें हमें 12 हजार करोड़ रुपए का प्रतिवर्ष घाटा जा रहा है, 7वीं योजना के जो आंकड़े हैं उनके अनुसार कह रहा हूं, क्योंकि जो पावर लोड है, अगर सारे इलेक्ट्रिसिटी बोर्ड को देखें तो हमारा 50 परसेंट से कम आता है। अगर हम टाटाज का देखें तो यह 84 से 94 परसेंट है। अगर हम एन०टी०पी०सी० का देखें तो 75 परसेंट आता है। अगर गवर्नमेंट खाली इसमें ही सुधार करे तो मैं समझता हूं कि 12 हजार करोड़ रुपये का घाटा पूरा किया जा सकता है। मैं वैस्ट बंगाल के बारे में कहता हूं कि वहां कम्युनिस्ट की गवर्नमेंट है, पर वहां पर भी उन लोगों ने अपने इलेक्ट्रिसिटी बोर्ड का काम गोयनका ग्रुप कर दिया है और वहां प्राइवेटाइजेशन में उन लोगों ने किया है। और तब से वहां इलैक्ट्रिसिटी बोर्ड मुनाफे में जा रहा है। वह मुनाफा कर रहे हैं जबकि हर स्टेट के जो इलैक्ट्रिसिटी बोर्ड हैं वह घाटे में जा रहे हैं। तो मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि यह जो जितने अंडरटेकिंग हैं गवर्नमेंट के, चाहे वह रेलवेज है, चाहे वह दूसरे कारपरेशन हैं, सभी घाटे में जा रहे हैं। तो सरकार को इन पर कुछ करना चाहिये।

दूसरा, मैं आपसे कहूंगा इंडस्ट्रीज के मुताल्लिक। मैं इंडस्ट्रीज में समझता हूं कि अकेला नोयेडा जो एक बहुत बड़ा सा एरिया है इंडस्ट्रियल एरिया में, उसमें एक साल बाद दो हजार करोड़ रुपये का रेवन्यू पूरे देश में वह देगा। इंडस्ट्रीज के संबंध में मुझे भी बाहर जाने का मौका मिला। इंडिया इन्वेस्टमेंट सेंटर में जहां दूसरे एन० आर०आई० इकट्ठे हुये। वहां जब उनसे बैठकर बातें करते हैं तो वह कहते हैं कि हम इस देश में बहुत पैसा कमा रहे हैं, क्योंकि वहां का सोशल स्ट्रक्चर

ऐसा है कि वह लोग वापिस देश में आना चाह रहे हैं। वैसे उत्तर प्रदेश में लगायें चाहे वह हरियाणा में लगायें, चाहे वह गुजरात कर्नाटक और आन्ध्र में लगायें. उन लोगों की यह राय है कि हम अगर वापिस हिंदुस्तान में जाकर उसका 25 प्रतिशत भी पैसा कमायें जो कि अमरीका, इंग्लैंड, कनाडा और आस्ट्रेलिया में कमा रहे हैं तो हम प्रिफर करेंगे कि हम हिंदुस्तान में जायें। पर जब उन लोगों से सुना कि वह यह कहते हैं कि साहब जितने भी चीफ मिनिस्टर आते हैं, गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया के मिनिस्टर्स आते हैं तो वह हमें यह कह कर जाते हैं इंसेंटिवज देते हैं। पर जब इंडिया से जाते हैं तो फिर हमें एक-एक फाईल के लिये सब जगह घूमना पड़ता है। तो मेरा आपके माध्यम से सरकार से यह सुझाव है कि "वन विंडो सर्विस" हमें करनी चाहिये जिससे कि जिन आदमी को फारनेन कार्पोरेशन से पैसा मिलना है, बैंक से पैसा मिलना है, आई०ई०जी०आई० से पैसा मिलना है, इंडस्ट्रियल लाइसेंस मिलना है वह सब एक ही विंडो से मिले ताकि उन लोगों को 10 दिन न घूमना पड़े। जब वह महीना-बीस दिन घूमते हैं तो बहुत लोग ऐसे जिन्होंने वहां दूसरा कल्चर देखा था, वह लोग चले जाते हैं तथा फौरन की कमाई का पैसा वह इस देश में लाकर खर्च का नहीं करते।

मैं आपके एग्रीकल्चर पर भी थोड़ा सा कहना चाहूंगा। सरकार ने इसमें कई सुझाव दिये हैं कि इस तरीके से यह कर लिया जाय तो फायदा होगा। सब्सडी का भी जिक्र आया। तो उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय मैं आपके माध्यम से कहना चाहूंगा कि पूरी दुनिया में कुछ ऐसा इम्प्रेशन है और लोग समझते हैं कि अमरीका सबसे धनाढ्य देश है। यह मेरा नहीं सब लोगों का भी इम्प्रेशन है। लोगों का यह भी इम्प्रेशन है कि मिलट्री पोइन्ट आफ व्यू से अमरीका, रशिया और चायना सबसे पावरफुल कंट्रीज हैं। ऐसे ही हमारे लोगों में यह इम्प्रेशन है कि भारत कृषि प्रधान देश है और यही सब लोगों की राय है। जैसा हमने देखा, पढ़ा या जो सुना उसमें हम यह समझते हैं कि भारत कृषि प्रधान देश है। पर मैं आपको कुछ ऐसे आंकड़े बताऊंगा जो कि मैंने गवर्नमेंट फ इंडिया से कलेक्ट किए और जब मैं स्टेट में एग्रीकल्चर मिनिस्टर था तो कुछ वहां अपनी मिनिस्ट्री से किए, कुछ वर्ल्ड बैंक से किए और जो रिकार्ड है वह मैं आपसे कह रहा हूं। अगर हम पूरी दुनिया की पर-कैपिटा इंकम देखें और हिन्दुस्तान की देखें तो मैं आपसे कह रहा हूं कि हालैंड ऐसा देश है जिसमें पर फैमिली मैम्बर, मैं पर-कैपिटा कह रहा हूं परफैमिली नहीं कह रहा हूं, वहां पर-कैपिटा इंकम एक फार्मर की जो कि खेती पर डायरेक्टली—इंडायरेक्टली डिपेंड करता है उस आदमी की एक साल लाख सैंतीस हजार रुपए है, आस्ट्रेलिया में एक आदमी की एक लाख नौ हजार रुपए है। जब हम इसी आंकड़े को यूनाइटेड स्टेट आफ अमरीका में देखते हैं तो एक आदमी की साल की औसत आमदनी 94 हजार रुपए है जो कि खेती करता है, । जब हम नार्थ कोरिया में देखते हैं तो यहां एक आदमी की 72 हजार रुपए है और साउथ कोरिया की 63 हजार रुपए है। अब जब हम हिन्दुस्तान को देखते है जिसमें हम कहते हैं कि 85 प्रतिशत लोग डायरेक्टली-इनडायरेक्टली खेती से कनेक्टिड हैं, वहां एक आदमी की साल की औसतन आमदनी 3750 रुपए है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री भास्कर अन्नांजी मासोदकर) : कौन से रुपए ? अभी का रुपया है या पहले का ?

श्री रणजीत सिंह : मैं यह बता रहा हूं कि दो साल पहले के जो आंकड़े हैं। जो मेरे कहने का मतलब इस तरीके का है कि लोगों में कुछ नहीं सोचा जा रहा है। अब यह चर्चा है कि सब्सडी कम करदी जाए, खाद के रेट बढ़ा दिए जायें और खाद के रेट में जैसा मैं देख रहा हूं कि 20 से 30 प्रतिशत तक बढ़ाने की बात की है। मैं किसी एक वर्ग की या किसी एक क्लास की नुमाइंदगी नहीं कर रहा हूं। पर देश की जो स्थिति है वह मैं आपको बताता रहा हूं। पंजाब और हरियाणा से लगी हुई अन्य स्टेट हैं परंतु खेती का विकास जो पंजाब और हरियाणा में है, इतनी मोडर्न

[श्री रणजीत सिंह]

टैक्नीक और साइंस की जो बात है वह किसी और स्टेट में नहीं हैं। पंजाब में आज जो परिस्थिति है, मैं यह समझता हूं कि उसके कुछ कारण और हो सकते हैं। पर सबसे ज्यादा जो कारण हैं वह इस तरीके के हैं कि सबसे ज्यादा हैजिटेशन है। वहां जो बच्चे हैं फार्मर्स के बच्चे हैं जिन्होंने डबल एम०ए०, पी० एच०डी०, डी० लिट और एम फिल कर रखी है उनमें किसी को सर्विस नहीं मिलती है और जब उन्हें सीधे तरीके से पैसा लूटने को मिल गया तो उन सभी लोगों ने फ्रस्टेशन में आकर के क्योंकि उन्हें एक-एक आदमी को एक घर में चार एकड़ जमीन है जिसमें एक एकड़ आती है, डेढ़ एकड़ आती है। वह लोग नहीं कर सकते।

मेरा आपसे निवेदन है कि आज पूरे देश में किसानों का हर प्रकार का एजीटेशन चल रहा है। कभी महाराष्ट्र में चल रहा है, कभी यू०पी० में चल है, कभी हरियाणा और पंजाब में चल रहा है। तो मैं आपको देश की सही स्थिति बताता हूं। मैं इस हक में हूं कि सरकार का सारा मामला ठीक चले ला एंड आर्डर हैं पर अगर इस तरह से 30 परसेंट खाद का रेट बढ़ाया गया तो किसान इसे बरदाश्त नहीं करेगा और देश के जो 70 प्रतिशत किसान हैं उन्हें कंट्रोल करना सरकार के बस की बात नहीं होगी। तो मेरा सरकार से निवेदन है कि ऐसा कोई कदम उठाने से पहले अच्छी तरह से सोच-विचार कर लिया जाए।

दूसरी बात जो मैं आपसे कहूंगा वह यह है कि 1949-50 से लेकर 1988-89 तक हमारे प्रोडक्शन में प्रति वर्ष 2.8 प्रतिशत की बढ़ोतरी हुई है लेकिन अगर आप हमारे कंट्रीज को देखें जिनका मैंने जिक्र किया है, उनमें यह बढ़ोतरी 27 परसेंट तक है। मैं समझता हूं कि जितने लोग यहां बैठे हैं उनमें से अधिकांश गांवों से आए हैं इसलिए उनको यह प्रयास करना चाहिए कि जब सरकार इस तरह का कोई संशोधन लाए तो उसमें लोगों की भावनायें का ख्याल रखा जाए।

महोदय, हमारे देश में पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू के समय से ही यह आइडिया था कि सबसे ज्यादा तवज्जह सरकार को पानी और बिजली के प्रोडक्शन पर देनी चाहिए। अगर इरिगेशन और पावर आप पूरी देंगे तो देश की खेती और इंडस्ट्री ठीक से चल सकेंगी। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं हुआ और हम दूसरे प्रोजेक्टस पर पैसा लगाते गए और इन दो क्षेत्रों की ओर किसी ने नहीं देखा। महोदय, मैं यहां राजस्थान का उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं। हरियाणा और पंजाब में इरिगेशन रेट 60 परसेंट से ज्यादा हैं जबकि राजस्थान में यह रेट केवल 14 प्रतिशत है। राजस्थान एरिया के हिसाब से काफी बड़ा है मध्य प्रदेश तो सबसे बड़ा हैं पर वहा के लोगों को इंसेंटिव नहीं मिलते हैं। वहां के लागों के पास नई टैक्नालाजी नहीं है। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि आज कंप्यूटर एज के जमाने में हम बहुत आगे निकल गए हैं। अगर आज यहां से राकेट छोडा जाए तो डेढ दिन में हम चन्द्रमा पर पहुंच जाएंगे, ईरान और इराक की लड़ाई आप टेलीविजन पर देख सकते हैं, एशियन गैम्स आप टेलीविजन पर देख सकते हैं पर मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि इरिगेशन के मामले में अभी तक कोई नई प्रक्रिया इजाद नहीं हुई है। अगर आपको हिमालय से पानी केरल को देना है तो नहर खोदकर ले जानी पड़ेगी। इसके अलावा कोई युक्ति नहीं है। महोदय, मैं चाहता हूं कि इरिगेशन का इस प्रकार से डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन होना चाहिए कि देश में जो सबसे बैकवर्ड इलाका है उसे तवज्जह दी जाय और स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को अपने कान्फिडेंस में लेकर वहां आवश्यकतानुसार सिंचाई की व्यवस्था की जाय।

महोदय, मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे डैवलपमेंट में बहुत इम्बेलेंस है जिसके बारे में आज तक कोई कमेटी नहीं बनी है और न ही इस पर कभी सोचा गया है। मैं आपके सामने कुछ आंकडे रखना चाहूंगा। महोदय, पूरे देश में जो आई०ए०एस० और आई० पी० एस० लड़के कंपीट करके आते हैं उनमें 1947 से 1963 तक 58 प्रतिशत जो

आई०ए एस० लड़के सलैक्ट हुए वे बारह कालेजों के थे। तो मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि हमारा एजुकेशन सिस्टम ऐसे है कि कई जगह तो हमने कम्प्यूटर्स दे दिए हैं और 60 प्रतिशत देश के स्कूल ऐसे हैं जहां ब्लैकबोर्ड भी हम नहीं दे सके हैं। तो मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि सरकार को इस बारे में कुछ तय करना चाहिए कि किस तरह से हम समान रूप से सारे देश का विकास कर सकते हैं।

महोदय, मैं यह भी बताना चाहूंगा कि 1951 में जहां पूरे देश में 3000 मिलियन लोग अशिक्षित थे वहां 1981 में इनकी संख्या 437 मिलियन थी जो कि पूरे भारतवर्ष का 40 प्रतिशत है। अगर इसी तरह से चलता रहा तो यह सन् 2000 ई० में सारी दुनिया का अकेले भारत में 54 परसेंट इल्लिट्रेसी का रेट होगा। मेरा आपसे निवेदन है कि एजुकेशन के मामले में जो इंबैलेंस है डेवलपमैंट का, वह हमने कहीं बहुत ज्यादा कर दिया है, कहीं बिल्कुल नहीं किया है, उस पर सरकार को गंभीरता से विचार करना चाहिये और उसे दूर करना चाहिये।

प्राइज राइज के बारे में मैं समझता हूं कि पिछले 5-6 सालों में जो प्राइस राइज हुई हैं, उतनी कभी नहीं हुई। मुझसे पहले बोलने वाले कई माननीय सदस्यों ने भी ये बातें कहीं हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि 20 से 30 परसेंट सब चीजों की प्राइसेज बढ़ी हैं। अगर होलसेल इंडेक्स देखें तो प्राइसराइज 1947 के बाद सबसे ज्यादा इस देश में आज के वक्त है। आदरणीय नरसिंह राव जी ने जब गवर्नमेंट का टेकओवर किया 8 जुलाई को तो अपने प्रसारण में कहा था कि हम प्राइसेज पर 100 दिन में कंट्रोल करेंगे। मैं समझता हूं कि तब से लेकर अब तक प्राइसेज घटी नहीं हैं बढ़ी हैं। तो सरकार को इस मामले में बहुत सख्ती से कदम उठाने चाहिये, और आम जनता को, गरीबी रेखा से नीचे जो 80 परसेंट लोग रहते हैं, उनको बहुत कठिनाई का सामना करना पड़ता है, बड़े लोगों को भी करना पड़ता है लेकिन उनको बहुत ज्यादा कठिनाई होती है। इसके लिये मेरा कहना यह है कि अगर आर्थिक स्थिति बेहतर होती है तो सारे मामले ठीक हो जाते हैं। इसके लिये तरह तरह की डिबेटस हुई हैं, डिस्कशन हुई है। मेरा सुझाव यह है कि इनकम टैक्स में जो स्लैब सिस्टम है, जिस तरह का रशियो आपने बना रखा है, उसमें काम चलने वाला नहीं है। इसके लिये आपको इनकम टैक्स के टेबल में कुछ संशोधन करने की जरूरत है। मैं यह नहीं कह रहा हूं कि कितना कितना किस पर लगायें। मैं कहता हूं कि आप कोई भी डिस्ट्रिक्ट ले लीजिये, आप गाजियाबाद ले लें, फरीदाबाद ले लें, जयपुर ले लें या कोटा ले लें, या किसी स्टेट का कोई जिला ले लें, उसमें अगर सब कराये जाये तो एक जिले में कई सब-डिवीजन होते हैं, कई तहसीलें आती हैं, जिला हैडक्वार्टर आते हैं, बड़े फार्मर भी आ जाते हैं, तो आपको वहां पर कम से कम 20 आदमी ऐसे मिलेंगे जिनके पास 15 से 20 करोड़ तक नम्बर दो का पैसा होगा, वहां पर 50 आदमी ऐसे होंगे जिनके पास 5 करोड़ से 7 करोड़ पैका होगा। हजार की संख्या में अगर देखें तो 50 लाख से उपर की आमदनी वाले लोग होंगे चाहे वे बनामी हो। लेकिन इनकम टैक्स के डर के मारे कोई भी अपना पैसा शो नहीं करता है सरकार इसके लिए एक कमेटी बनाकर स्टेट्स से कंसल्ट कर के इनकम टैक्स में कुछ रिबेट देकर लोगों को डिक्लेयर कर लेने का मौका दे तो जैसा मैंने कहा कि एक डिस्ट्रिक हैंड क्वार्टर में कम से कम 400 करोड़ रुपया निकलेगा। अगर एक जिले में 400 करोड़ निकलता है तो उत्तर प्रदेश में 20 हजार करोड़ रुपया दो नम्बर का निकलेगा। इसके लिये लोगों को यह सैक्यूरिटी दी जाय कि उनके केवल 25 परसेंट को इनकम टैक्स सरकार लेगी। इस तरह से 5 हजार करोड़ रुपया गवर्नमेंट का रेवेन्यू बढ़ेगा और 15 हजार करोड़ रुपया जो आयेगा उससे कम अपने उद्योग आदि चला सकेंगे और हमें आई०एम०एफ० या दूसरी एजेंसियों में पास मांगने के लिये नहीं जाना पड़ेगा।

[श्री रणजीत सिंह]

आज सारी इंडस्ट्रीज पैसे के बिना क्लोज हो रही हैं क्योंकि बैंकों से पैसा नहीं मिल रहा है । इसलिये फाइनेंशियल कंडीशंस को ठीक करने के लिये ऐसी ऐक्सरसाइज की जाये तो यह देश के लिये हितकर होगा और हमारा आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार होगा ।

तो मैंने ये कुछ सुझाव आपको दिये हैं और आपसे यह कहा कि जिस तरह के देश के हालात हैं उनको देखें, पोलिटिकल इंस्टेबिलिटी का जिक्र किया, वायलेंस का जिक्र किया, एग्रीकल्चरल सेक्टर का जिक्र किया, सबसिडी का जिक्र किया और कुछ सुझाव दिये जो अपने अमेंडमेंट 21 से 31 के जरिये भी इन गंभीर सवालों को मैंने सरकार तक आपके माध्यम से आज पहुंचाने की कोशिश की है कि सरकार इन पर गौर करे ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आपका धन्यवाद करता हूं और अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं ।

SHRI KAPIL VERMA (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks moved by my colleague, Mrs. Natarajan. Sir, to begin with, I would say that my expression of thanks to the President is not a mere formality but one of gratitude because the President has steered the ship of the nation through stormy waters in a very critical period, particularly after the assassination of our great leader, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, who, after his martyrdom, has joined the galaxy of great martyrs like Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Indiraji and so on.

Sir, I would say that we are today faced with a very, very difficult situation — very dangerous, very delicate and very complicated. I will not repeat what my friends have already said but I will very briefly say, and as our leaders has already said, no particular party, no one party can solve these problems singlehandedly. The clear mandate of the people in the last General Elections has been that we must solve all problems through consensus, through the co-operation of all the parties. As the Prime Minister himself has said, even if the Congress had won 300 seats, it still would have required the cooperation of all the parties because the problems are very, very difficult. This is the mandate of the people in the elections. People have told the Congress that they were giving them back confidence in a certain measures, though 10 or 12 seats less, "but we warn you, you have to take to the path of consensus and you cannot ride roughshod." And the Prime Minister has already promised that he would go ahead in consultation with the various parties.

Sir, I would say that the present Government, as has been pointed out in the President's Address, haas had to face very difficult economic problems. There was no time to hesitate, there was no time to wait. Certain basic, very big, financial problems were waiting. In fact, the papers were ready, as you said, and the cumulative decision came on its head to find solutions and to take decisisions — though some of them were unpleasant — but it was a desperate situation and the whole situation had to be salvaged. Otherwise, if India had been declared a defaulter, probably the consequences would have been most disastrous. I am not an economist and I will not go in great detail into them and I am not going to cover, with the limited time at our disposal, all the points that have already been covered by my able colleagues. I would say that the country is today facing such difficult problems that the co-operation of all the parties is necessary.

Sir, there is insurgency or, what you call terrorism in Punjab, in Assam, in Jammu Kashmir, in various places, fomented and directly aided by Pakistan. It has been admitted and evidence is there. Even the Americans, their masters, have also conceded that they are doing it and

this terrorism is the biggest stumbling block in the relations between the two countries Our President, in his Address, has correctly said that we want to remove tensions and, for this, we have taken several confidence-building measures. But the stumbling block remains and unless they do something about removing this stumbling block, that is. stopping the aid to terrorism, there cannot be any improvement. Sir, this terrorism is a two-way traffic. In fact, Pakistan is having a taste of its own medicine. The newspapers are full of reports that terrorism has raised its head even in Sindh and even in Punjab. In Afghanistan also there is a bloody warfare between various ethnic groups. The result is that there is almost complete lawlessness there.

Sir, I have learnt from reliable sources that Nawaz Sharief, when he canecIled his trip to Japan, announced to the world that he was doing so because of internal reasons. But it was not so. I am very reliably told that he feared a coup by a combination of *mullas* and the army there That threat still persists. It was the same combination which overthrew Benazeer Bhutto. Now, the army there and the fundamentalists *mullas* in Pakistan want a regime of total fundamentalism. Mr. Nawaz Sharief is not agreeing to it. He is having a programme of privatisation, some economic reforms and other things. In any case the information that we got today is that even today the threat of an army-takeover is looming large. Mirza Aslam Khan is having consultation with his colleagues. his supporters and you should not be surprised if he is overthrown. Anyway, we are not concerned with their internal affairs. They may be interfering in our affairs. But we don't do so.

We are very sorry to find that they have placed certain restrictions on Indian tourists who go to Pakistan. They are relations of those people from U.P A very large number of Muslims have very close relations in Karachi and other places. When they go there, innocent people, they are stopped at the airport, they are confined at the airport on various pretexts, and despite their explanations nothing happens. I hope the Government of India will look into it and remove their hardhsips.

Sir, I have from time to time been speaking about the nuclear programme of Pakistan. I am speaking about it because it is a serious threat. Even America has now admitted that Pakstan has produced nuclear weapons though by a stolen technology and that that is why the Americans have stopped their aid to Pawistan. Now, as I said two days ago in this very House, they have acquired from China even the delivery system, the M-11 missiles. Missiles played a very big role in the recent Gulf war and this is a weapon which will be used more and more. Unfortunately, though we have developed our integrated missile systems, according to our defence experts they are not foolproof as yet. So, this M-11 is really a very dreadful thing because it has a range of 300 km., and it can hit our cities, North Indian cities including Delhi. It is a very serious matter, and I hope the Government of India will take cognizance of this and will take immediate measures to meet this threat.

Sir, probably to divert our attention from what it is doing, Pakistan has started a propaganda offensive just to hide its ulterior intentions as far as India is concerned and to hoodwink the world, not only to hoodwink the world but to please its masters the United States and others, to get back the aid it has started a new move, and that move is a dialogue of five nations, three developed nations, India and Pakikstan on stopping proliferation in Sotuh Asia Sir, you will agree with me. What is the use This is a global problem. All the big nations of the world. important powers

[Shri Kapil Verma]

have nuclear weapons. Unless they decide to stop making them and using them, what is the use of having a dialogue? It is only correct that the Government of India refused to sign the NPT. If we agree to this regional dialogue with USA and Russia and others who have already got the weapons and who have absolutely no intention of stopping the nuclear programmes, then what is the use of it? Apart from being discriminatory, Pakistan can always have nuclear weapons from its masters and others and if India gives up the idea and stops it — though we do not have nuclear weapons — then where will we be? So, I strongly support the stand of the Narasimha Rao Government to give cold shoulder to this idea. I would also say, given this situation if Pakistan does not stop going ahead with its nuclear programme and if it does not stop using and developing its delivery system, then India in its interest must review its nuclear option. Probably may party is against it, but this is my personal opinion and I feel strongly about it.

Now I would refer to South Africa Right from the days of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, India has always stood up against Apartheid. Rajiv Gandhi carried a big struggle against it. Today I am sorry to find that the United States is relaxing the sanctions. Those sanctions were placed some 30 or 40 years ago. India is a member of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth Sub-Committee on Foreign Nations decided that these relations will not be given up unless certain conditions were fulfilled The first condition was that all prisoners should be released. All prisoners have not yet been released. The second condition was that all those people who fled South Africa because of the repression, should be taken back. Unless they come back there will be no relaxation in the sanctions. This too has not happened. Then to give equality in the adult franchise to whites and blacks, an amendment in their constitution was to be effected. That too has not been done. The African National Congress has made it very plain and it has expressed the desire of being consulted by the Indian Government before taking any decision on relaxation. I only hope that the Indian Government will not fall in line with other countries in relaxing the sanctions unless the ANC is fully satisfied and unless the conditionalities put forward by the Commonwealth Committee are fully met.

I am happy that after the visit of late Shri Rajiv Gandhi to China, the ice was broken and with various rounds of talks probably, we are nearer solution. It is, of course, a very very difficult and long affair and also an uphill task. But I do hope our relations with China will improve. Similar is our hope about relations with Bangladesh. Some time back we heard that on the river waters issue a solution was very near. I hope the Government will look into it and expedite it and find a solution on it.

Before ending I would only refer to Shri Narasimha Rao's declaration in his first Address that "India will play a more active role in foreign affairs and would give top priority to ties with its neighbours particularly. And it will be endeavour of the Government to restore to India its place of honour in the Councils of the world, in the comity of nations and ensure that India's voice is heard again with the respect and attention it deserves." I hope, the foreign policy will be pursued with greater vigour and the days of Nehru, Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi will return once again because we have probably for certain reasons, for stability and other reasons, neglected this aspect and it was left to the officials to conduct the foreign policy because of the political leadership difficulty. But, at the same time, before ending, I will remind the Government and the House that the foreign policy of

the country, the respect of the country is judged by the fact how stable is the Government and what is the political situation there. If there is uncertainty, if there is instability, then probably, we cannot further our foreign policy to that extent and ultimately, I would say that unless we improve our economy, unless we are strong economically, nobody will treat us with that respect which we want. I hope, these things will be done.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Mr. Salaria. Please be as brief as possible because I want to accommodate one more speaker who also is in the same difficulty.

SHRI SHABBIR AHMAD SALARIA: Sir, I shall be as brief as possible and I am always short. I have never taken more time than the time allotted to me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): I am not saying that.

SHRI SHABBIR AHMAD SALARIA: I am prepared to sacrifice the time given to me for the sake of the other speaker also. My submission with regard to the address of the President before us is as follows:

So far as I am concerned, I would like to make some points and in that regard, I will firstly invite the attention of the hon. Members to the fact that in the matter of holding of elections which have been recently held, we have almost bungled. Whereas a law was made for exempting the State of Punjab and the State of Assam from holding of General Elections under article 73, in actual practice, elections were held in Assam and Punjab but were not held in Jammu and Kashmir. With regard to Punjab, what we did is that after the election process was completed and the polls were to be held, only a few hours before that it was declared that polls will not take place, people will not go to the poll and people will not cast their vote. I think, there is no precedent in which such a thing may have been done in the past in our country or anywhere in the world. Much sacrifice was made for the sake of election in Punjab and it was repeatedly said in Parliament that one day, we have got to hold elections in Punjab and that by postponing that date, we cannot better the conditions which are prevalent in Punjab and so many candidates lost their lives and so many arrangements had to be made. Now, the polling had to take place and in fact we did disservice to our country by not holding elections in Punjab and the address of the President refers to stopping of the elections in Punjab. It says, "Because of conditions in Punjab, the elections were not held." But it is submitted that conditions in Punjab may not be better and we cannot for long wait and the majority of the people in Punjab wanted the elections to be held. They wanted to go to the polls because they are tired of the extremists. They want democracy to be restored. But by doing this we have denied that right. And in fact, we have played into the hands of the extremists which should not have been done and we have given a message to the extremists and to others also that we have succumbed to their pressures and their tactics are succeeding. This was done because a particular political party was not fielding its candidates in Punjab. If that is true—which *prima facie* appears to be true—then I feel it is a great disservice to the country, to the nation and if these petty considerations are going to weigh with political parties in our country, what shall be the fate of India and where shall be the fate of the people of India? So I would submit that what the President has said—that elections were not held in Punjab because there was a turmoil in Punjab is not correct. This is a fig-leave cover for something done for ulterior purposes.

Secondly, I would like to submit with regard to the economic conditions in our country. The Finance

[Shri Shabbir Ahmad Saloria]

Minister has said: "I have resurrected the country from the total economic collapse, from bankruptcy." And by what method? By the normal method that whenever in your home there is no money, you sell the ornaments of your wife or of your mother to the shroff and he takes it and pays you some money to run your home. This is the strategy which has been adopted to save India. But I think there are other ways to do so. It cannot be denied that there is a parallel black money economy going on in our country. This black money has to be unearthed. In order to unearth the black-money some revolutionary steps will have to be taken, some such steps will have to be taken whereby the black money comes out. In the normal way it will not come out. It has been suggested by our friends, by hon. Members of Parliament, that the black money will come out if uou give to the persons holding that money an assurance that they will not be penalised or that they will not be subjected to that income-tax rate which is otherwise to be imposed and that for concealing of income no action will be taken against them. By giving this assurance, maybe, that money comes out. I do not know whether the Government had adopted these ways and means before it launched the programme of safeguarding the economy my mortgaging and selling the gold reserves which we had. Although this is not being done, I would submit to the Finance Minister and to the present Government to see that by whatever measures they have taken—those may be unavoidable because of the conditions prevalent in the country and to save the economy, they say, it was necessary to do so—, the—blackmoney comes out and that may help the country for reviving its economy. But even then it was not too late to consider other measures also. And then we have so many sick units which are generally owned by the Government. They are a drain on our economy and they are a breeding ground of inefficiency. Why should we mortgage our future for the prosperity of these sick units why should we not privatise them? I don't say that privatisation is my faith but I say we must do what is good for us. If privatisation can save us from collapse, if it can revive our economy? Why should we not go in for it? What is the use of having units which do not serve the nation but are, on the other hands drain on our economy? Let us privatise them. Let us do something so that they give us some benefit. Now this is the second submission.

And the third submission which I would like to make about the Address is with regard to the National Commission which has to be set up for the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the Backward Classes. It is welcome and it is a happy news that the Government is thinking in those terms. But so far as Argoons of Ladakh are concerned, they are scheduled tribe. Their kith and kin have been declared as scheduled tribe in parts of Ladakh in Jammu & Kashmir State, but in other parts in Tehsil Kargil they have been declared as scheduled tribe but in Tehsil Leh they are not so declared and unfortunately those who are declared in one tahsil and are not declared in the other tahsil, are feeling very badly about it and it has created a law and order problem and also it has created apathy among the masses. This is, therefore, necessary that Argoons should also be declared as scheduled tribe and that the Scheduled Tribe Commission should see to it that those people who are scheduled tribe do get some benefit thereof. Merely declaring Gujjars and Bakrawallas as scheduled tribe but not implementing that declaration in letter and spirit is of no use.

Now, the fourth important thing which is affecting us in India is the Babri Masjid-Ram Janambhoomi dispute. It is said in the address that with regard to all places of worship, except Babri Masjid, we shall maintain the status quo as on 15th of August 1947. That is a very welcome statement.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Sir, I want to submit that there is nobody in the Treasury Benches to take notes. It is a very important debate.

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI C. K. JAFFER SHARIEF): I am here.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): He is very much there. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: He is very much there But nobody is taking notes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): It is all the fault of a lady Member, it appears.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: It is a very serious debate and I think there must be some one.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): I am sure the hon'ble Minister is taking notes.

SHRI SHABBIR AHMAD SALARIA: No, he is not taking notes. You may be sure that he is not taking notes. He is talking to Shrimati Renuka Chowdhury. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: No, no. I wish to differ. In fact, he was asking what you are talking. (*Interruptions*)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री भास्कर अन्नाजी मासोदकर) : रेणुका जी, आप क्यों डिसटर्ब कर रही हैं । आप उधर जाइये ।

श्रीमती रेणुका चौधरी : मैं क्या डिसटर्ब कर रही हूं । ...(व्यवधान)

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Renuka Chowdhury has not defected.

... (*Interruptions*) ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): You are disturbing his attention. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Sir, I do not think that I am so powerful that I can disturb the Minister... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Railways can be disturbed anywhere (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Let me place on record that it was, in fact, about this he was asking a few points. (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Do not interrupt. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: I apologise if you think that I have been disturbing. I do not think so. (*Interruptions*)... Sir, I keep quiet. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Sir, not more than 10 Members are present in the Treasury Benches. (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): This is a very serious debate. I entirely agree with the Leader of the Opposition. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Not more than 10 Members are there. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): No, that is not the point. The point made is that nobody is taking notes. (*Interruptions*)...

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Renukaji is not a serious lady. (*Interruptions*)....

SHRI SHABBIR AHMAD SALARIA: She may be serious, but she is doing something non-serious. (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Salariaji, please start. (*Interruptions*)... Now he has assured that he is taking note of your points. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: None of you objected to other male members. Why is it that when a woman is talking you are all piling on? This is a sexist discrimination. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: I also associate myself with Shrimati Renuka. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: We support Renukaji. (*Interruptions*)..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Please go on.

SHRI SHABBIR AHMAD SALARIA: Now, my submission is that the Babri Masjid-Ram Janambhoomi dispute is very unfortunate. It is unfortunate because it is likely to create dissension in India. There are already many differences amongst us. There are already many problems facing the country regarding our future, regarding our development and diverting our attention to a religious problem is not going to serve the country. And the more unfortunate thing about it is that this has become a vote-catcher. It has created a difficult situation for secular parties to meet this propaganda. Those who, on the basis of this, have been able to fetch votes and get seats are normally inclined to continue this thing. They would like that Babri Masjid remains there for all times to come so that the dispute lingers on, so that by and by they get this very dispute as the basis for more of votes and more of seats. So we have to find a way out of it. When the Address says "except for Babri Masjid", it really concedes the ground to those people who want to keep the Babri Masjid issue or make the Babri Masjid dispute a basis for getting votes; it gives them a licence to continue that dispute. I would submit the Address should have said "including Babri Masjid, all places of worship in India, to whichever faith those may belong, shall remain as they were on the 15th of August 1947".

Then, referring to the Kashmir problem it has been said that there the conditions are bad "but we are heartened because some people are surrendering" I would submit that that is not a heartening feature. Many people surrender and many people who surrender are not actually allowed to surrender. On the other hand, despite a surrender, there are reports with us—we are ground-level workers—they are killed. My submission would be that we must take care that those people who wrongly went over to the other side, got training and came back disillusioned by what is taking place in Pakistan and laid down arms, are not killed. Why kill them? Secondly, those young people who were going in that direction or were found near about the actual line of control, why shoot them? This should not be done. This alienates. Thirdly, it is said that certain committees will be set up to have a rapport with the people. It is not said what sort of committees those would be. The honourable Minister said in Parliament today, "I am not prepared to concede that any political person will be there on those committees." Then who will be there? Are the bureaucrats going to have a direct link with the people? The condition in Kashmir on 19th January 1990 was far better than the condition which exists today. That is, at that time the number of terrorists was not so large. At that time the violence was not so much. What did we do? We fiddled with the case of Kashmir. We rather created problems for ourselves when we dissolved the Assembly. Can we now create an Assembly, a Legislative Assembly, in Kashmir by holding an election there? There is an admission in the Address, there is an admission on all hands from the Government, that we are not in a position to hold elections in Kashmir. My submission is this. Where was the wisdom in dissolving the Legislative Assembly? Even if somebody dissolved a Legislative Assembly, can we not rightly restore

it? Then the question arises: The Government was also dismissed. And what happened after that? Things have become bad. One lakh persons have migrated from Kashmir. At whose behest? It is said they have been driven out. I make a submission before all the gentlemen here, you kindly apply your minds and consider whether it was a case of being driven out—a person along with his family, along with his entire paraphernalia, starts from his home, covers a distance of 350 kms untouched by anybody! Is it a case of being driven out? Those are people going out on their own accord at the behest of this Government? and again that

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was a disservice to the nation. It was a disservice to the nation to have dissolved the Assembly. It was a disservice to have dissolved the National Conference Government. It was a disservice to drive out and persuade one lakh people belonging to the minorities in Kashmir to go out of Kashmir and then to put them in this unfortunate position in which they are today. They are leading a very difficult life because they are without work. Their children are suffering and they are suffering. The Government cannot feed so many people and look after their needs. Efforts should be made to return those people to their State and confidence-building measures should be taken. Secondly, I have submitted in the amendment that the Jammu and Kashmir State being a special-category State, is entitled to 90 per cent grant in matters of Plan assistance. This was denied to the State. The popularly elected Government begged for the money many times, but it was not given. It is only after *atankwad* took hold of Kashmir that these funds were released! Is this the way? When the popular Government was asking for it, nobody heard them for years together. Today, when *atankwad* took hold of Kashmir, it was released. So, it is my submission that the way in which we are acting is wrong. This shoud not have been done. Now the arrears are due. This should be paid to the State of Jammu and Kashmir so that development takes place. The condition cannot be improved...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Save some time for your colleague.

SHRI SHABBIR AHMED SAHARIA: I will take only two minutes. It is a very serious problem. The cosditions cannot be improved without a definite and clear policy regarding Jammu and Kashmir. There is none with the Government of India. There was none with the former Government and there is none even now. I submit to the Government that a policy be made. The policy should be: (1) that the local police should be associated with the work of policing within Kashmir; (2) the Army and the Border Security Force should go to the border and secure the border. They are being used inside Kashmir and it has given birth to a vicious circle. What happens if you have a combing operation in a particular area? Where you should arrest 10 persons, you arrest 50 persons and 40 persons are later released after taking money. Today, there is a race among the para-military forces. These people are making money. Secondly, I submit, in Kashmir you have got bureaucrats running the Government. You have tried them for years together. You have found that conditions have not improved. Why are you not changing the machinery? They too have got vested interests. They want that this condition should continue and they are minting money. Please change the advisor. Please appoint people from various political parties. The BJP has its cadre there, appoint one. The National Conference has its cadre there; appoint one. The CPI has its cadre and they will be prepared to give an adviser. If it is needed. I too can give an adviser. The Congress party can give one, appoint him. The National Front has its cadre; appoint one. The Communists have their cadre. It is for

[Shri Shabbir Ahmaad Salana]

you to see that there is a change. there are thousands of people who are in the jails for years together. The Government has admitted that they are holding many people who are innocent. Why not let them off? Why not there be a small committee consisting of representatives or nominees of various political parties in Kashmir who can sit together and decide within three months who are to be let out and who are not to be let out? This is how you can improve the conditions in Kashmir. But, if we are only to make speeches here and there is nobody to hear, things will not improve. It is not a minor thing. My submission to the Government is that there are thousands of youths in this country who are unemployed. But Kashmir is different. It has become a breeding ground for the other side. When the youths are unemployed, in the present conditions which are extraordinary, you have to take extraordinary steps to win over those youths and employ them so that the other side does not take hold of them. Once the other side takes hold of them, they become their prisoners and they are not free agents. They *are recruited and they are taught and* they are sent back here as soldiers and they do not want these people back. They say that they will shoot them down if they come back. So, please save the youths also.

Sir, these are my humble suggestions. Please formulate a clear-cut policy and then implement it and then you will see that things really improve. Thank you very much, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNTJI MASODKAR): I would now request the honourable *Minister to wait for a while because* Prof. Sourendra Bhattacharjee wants to speak now. He says he has to go today. So, let us hear him.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI M. M. JACOB): Sir, I am prepared to make the statement after he speaks. I am in your hands and in the hands of the House.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, before I come to the main Address, I would like to make a reference to the interview given by our Prime Minister, Shri Narasimha Rao, after he became the President of the Congress (I). In that interview, he emphasised the point that that the Congress (I) was committed to the Nehru line and all lines other than *the Nehru line came within the ambit* of fascism. Practically, what he said is an admission that so far we have been under the fascist umbrella. Now, a question does arise. The supporters of authoritarianism, while speaking of the fascist umbrella, perhaps forget their past.

Now, Sir, this particular document, the President's Address, as is well known, is a policy document on the part of the Government, approved by the Cabinet and articulated by the President before both the Houses of Parliament. What has been said here *in this Address? It gives a distorted* picture because it says that they would maintain the country's economic independence and would not allow it to be tampered with in any way. But what has been done? There have been two doses of devaluation which will lead to inflation. But our brilliant Finance Minister said that "devaluation" was a dirty word and that dirty word was sought to be suppressed by the word "adjustment", a word which has been used in this document also, but not everywhere. The speech of the President speaks of protecting the interests of the poor, of controlling the high prices, etc., but, at the same time, has this much honesty to say that there should not be much pampering of the interests of the poor. This accepts that the interests of the poor would be affected by the devaluation. We all know that because of the devaluation,

India's international debt has increased by about 35 per cent in terms of rupees and India's exports will fetch less money in terms of dollars or pound or yen or mark or france. How that will meet the economic crisis is yet to be spelt out. My only submission is that without talking about just restructuring, the structure should be laid before the entire House, the entire country, so that the people can debate it. What does it really mean? Here it has been said that a change in the policy of the Commerce Ministry has led to free trade from the stifling control and from high costs. Now, when it found out that control is stifling, licence is against industrial growth, when it was decided that multinationals who brought havoc in different parts of the world, particularly in Latin America which is called Banana Republic—the multinationals will bring economic regeneration in our country, what is the basis of this preposterous premise? That should be spelt out. The World Bank and other similar bodies might have influenced the grilliant Finance Ministers about certain ways that may not be the ways of the Indian people at large. It should be clearly borne in mind. And therefore, this is the document not of economic independence; it is of economic subservience. We know that after Devaluation was announced for the first time, an IMF team came to India, and that team is still here; the policy with regard to trade and commerce was changed and now they are waiting for change in other respects in the Budget proposals, on the basis of which they would decide what should be the extent of the assistance that India should receive from the International Monetary Fund and other international Financial organizations, whose conditionalities are meant to create not economic independence but economic dependence on them.

Sir, there are other aspects, but I am not entering into all those.

With regard to the burning problem, a sort of commitment that has been given is to maintaion the *status quo* about all religious shrines as obtaining in August, 1947. Regarding Babri Masjid and Ram Janma Bhoomi issue, the position is not clear. Mr. Salaria was correct when he told that the issue will largely determine the course of our elections during the 10th Lok Sabha elections. Its pernicious effect is clear to everybody. Such vague terms as "negotiated settlement acceptable to all" are used in regard to that burning problem. Therefore, on this issue also the Government should take a very fervent stand together with all other parties which are committed to secularism.

With this, thanking you for your kindness, I conclude.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): This subject will continue tomorrow.

Now the hon. Minister will make statements with regard to the bank robbery in Okhla and bomb explosions at the railway track near Patparganj.

STATEMENTS BY MINISTER

Bank Robbery in Okhla Industrial Area, New Delhi on 15-7-1991 & Bomb Explosion at Railway Track near Patpar Ganj, Delhi on 14-7-1991.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI M. M. JACOB): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I wish to apprise the Hon'ble Members of this august House about the incident of bank robbery which took place in the State Bank of Patiala, Okhla Industrial Area, New Delhi on 15th July, 1991.

At 10.40 a.m. on 15-7-1991, 4 unidentified persons entered into the premises of the Bank. When one of them was caught by the Bank guard, Shri Moasi Ram, he was shot at by the other two intruders. He, alongwith a bank customer, Shri Rajiv Sharma, sustained bullet injuries. While one of the intruders stood guard at the entrance of the bank,